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One encounters in even the oldest inscriptions and the oldest images much that is reminiscent of India. Sanskrit, an Indian script, Buddhist religious formulas, and Brahmanic rites appear to have been known. The rulers – for example Kesarī – (*circa* 913 A.D.), the first of a dynasty called Warmadewa[3] – have Sanskrit names. There are images of the Hindu gods (a Çiwa, for example, and a few centuries later a four-headed Brahmā) and of characters from the great epics (for instance Arjuna, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*). The oldest dated inscription is from 882 A.D., and the oldest images are probably from the period of the eighth to the tenth century.[4]

In brief, the data now available are sufficient to convince scholars in the field that Bali had its share in the great stream of Indian culture that washed over the southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. In this connection it is customary to speak of 'Hinduization' and 'Hindu' periods in the history of the lands concerned. These terms should not be understood as being restricted to Hinduism as a religion, however. The Buddhist temple Barabudur in central Java, for instance, is considered as one of the 'Hindu' monuments of early Java. 'Hindu', then, is in this connection a designation for everything related to the culture and religion of the India of that day. Java had such a Hindu period, called the Hindu-Javanese; Sumatra, Cambodia, and Burma likewise. And Bali also appears to belong in that list.

How this Hindu influence is to be explained cannot be said with any certainty. It is clear that it had something to do with the commercial relations which India maintained with China and other lands of the Far East. That trade brought knowledge of India and contact with and respect for Indian culture and religion to Sumatra and Java. However, the nature of the Hindu elements found in Indonesia makes it highly improbable that their diffusion can be explained solely or chiefly by trade. Rather, it is now assumed that Indonesian rulers wished to associate themselves with Indian culture, and for that purpose were able to attract Brahmanic priests, the representatives of Indian culture *par excellence*, to

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their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

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Various extant Balinese temples are still built in terraces, which make the whole temple resemble a 'stepped pyramid', as in the case of Pura Bĕsakih and of Pura Kĕhĕn at Bangli.

Some of the other early, indigenous cultural elements may be summarized in brief as follows:[36]

wet-rice cultivation, with everything it involved in the way of irrigation, organization, tunnel-building, and aqueduct-construction;
the breeding of game-cocks and the holding of cock-fights, which even today retain something of the ritual significance of a blood-sacrifice, though this aspect is now obscured by passionate betting;
wood-construction, especially of small pavilions (*bales*) in many forms;
crafts such as iron-working and bronze-working, red and blue dyeing, and weaving;
in the fields of music and the dance: the *gamélan sélunding* with iron keys and the bamboo orchestra (*angklung*), temple dances for the women and girls and war dances for the men, and the *kechak* dance, essentially a male choir accompanying the dancing of girls in a state of trance (*sangyang*);
the system of family, village, and regional temples[37] and the rituals performed there;
the offerings, with their often-complicated mixture of ingredients and their decorations, cuttings, and plaitings in countless varieties;
a large share of the folk tales handed down in oral tradition;
and, by no means least of all, the language, which, with its structure, must be considered an autochthonous cultural possession.

By way of contrast with these items, a list may be made of a number of cultural elements of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin:

the central authority of the ruler, and his position as representative of the divine forces;
the Brahmin *pĕdanda* and his ritual;[38]
many of the religious writings, with their mystical speculations;[39]
cremation;
the burning of widows (formerly customary in the higher classes, abolished since early in the twentieth century under pressure from the Netherlands East Indies government);
most of the products of literary art in palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontars*), and in conjunction with them countless motifs for tales and dramas;
an important enrichment of the vocabulary and the system of 'vocabularies of courtesy';[40]
the calendar according to the Hindu (or Hindu-Javanese) system;[41]

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105 177 the shadow play (wayang), which reached Bali from Java, and in a Javanese form;
the percussion orchestra (*gamélan*), also probably from Java;
the masked dance (*topeng*);
the creese, the dagger-like weapon that plays no less a rôle in the life of a Balinese than in that of a Javanese;[42]
the caste system in its Balinese form (*triwangsa*), regarding which see also the essay on the blacksmiths included in this volume;[43]
and many motifs in the plastic arts, the applied arts, and architecture.

4

Modern Balinese History: A Cultural Mosaic

175 An analysis such as the one above can serve to give more definite colour and shape to the general categories 'early indigenous', 'Hindu-Balinese', and 'Hindu-Javanese'. A culture, however, is an integrated entity; the elements live and move in conjunction with each other. Hence the analytic résumé given above should be followed by a scrutiny of these elements' integration, the cultural mosaic.

The period after the end of Majapahit's colonization and rule of Bali, approximately the years from 1500 to 1900, was of vast importance for that integration. The many conflicts between rulers and vassals and between vassals among themselves were sometimes of political, but rarely of cultural, significance. Nor is there any evidence of important influences from outside. The Dutch East India Company did not maintain any intensive contact with Bali, nor did the island come into any direct touch with Moslem spheres of influence. Hence in those four centuries Bali was left to itself to absorb the earlier influences from elsewhere. A process of interpenetration developed, with the result that the difference between the royal sphere and the popular sphere became largely one of gradation. The evidences of the process are to be found throughout Bali, though it is often hard to determine exactly how, when, and to what extent the various components contributed to the pattern existing today.

[177] Geographically, central Bali is the part of the island where the Hindu-Javanese influence can today be detected most clearly.

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In the Gelgel period there must have been a sort of feudal system: the rulers awarded lands to the peers of the realm as apanages. Most of those lands were apparently located in fertile central Bali, which was probably populous even then.

The 'land north of the mountains' (Buleleng), Karangasĕm, and the central Balinese mountain areas stayed outside the reach of the system; even more so did Jĕmbrana. The power of the rulers was uncertain in those regions (in various of which, as the reader will remember, resistance had been strongest at the time of the Majapahit expeditions).[44] Hence the ruler and his officials interfered much less in the *desa* system, with the result that many institutions in those areas were preserved in an older form.[45] The inhabitants there are sometimes referred to as *Bali-aga*, 'original Balinese'. The term is somewhat misleading, for it might give the impression that they are free of Hindu influences, which is not the case. Old Balinese edicts dating from the tenth century have been found in mountain *desas* such as Sĕmbiran, Tĕrunyan, and Dausa[46] – edicts dealing with those villages themselves or other places in the vicinity. This fact points towards the existence of an influence from the older Hindu-Balinese royal sphere. The later, Javanese-Balinese influences, however, have been much weaker in these mountain regions than in the region of the great apanages. The *Bali-aga*, then, should not be characterized as 'original Balinese', but as 'non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese'.[47]

The period of relatively undisturbed development came to an end first in northern Bali. In 1849 that part of the island was forced to recognize Dutch suzerainty, and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Netherlands East Indies government. The southern Balinese principalities followed in the first years of the twentieth century. Bali was made a part of the federal state of East Indonesia in 1946, and together with the rest of the state was incorporated in the unitary Republic of Indonesia in August, 1950.

Let us, on the basis of a few clear-cut examples, now attempt to form a picture of the interplay of the elements of Balinese culture.

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177 545 (*a*) The Hindu-Balinese and Javanese-Balinese rulers sometimes attempted to attach early indigenous classes and crafts to their courts. To maintain themselves there members of such groups then attempted to defend their early indigenous rights and positions in the way customary in the Hindu and Hindu-Javanese courtly sphere on Bali. This was for example the case with the blacksmiths, about which Goris writes below.[48]

177 621 (*b*) Alongside the *desa*, membership of which is restricted to the descendants of its founders, older villages also have the *banjar*,[49] which organization includes all the married male residents of the village. The *banjar* is charged with all kinds of secular activities, in contrast to the *desa*, which has rather more a religious task. Moreover the *banjar* can be classified as belonging to the *kĕlod* sphere and the *desa* to the *kaja* sphere – with all the connotations attached to that antithesis.[50] The *banjar* occupies itself with the purification of the *desa* territory, especially in the magical sense, and with the care of the dead, either by means of burial or of cremation. In traditional villages the *banjar* is subordinate to the *desa*.

In the apanages of central Bali, where the *desa* came under the influence of the royal administration, the relationship gradually shifted. The authorities took to demanding contributions from the villages for their expensive cremation celebrations. It was only natural to do that *via* the *banjar* organization. The *banjar*, which had traditionally had a secular task, also formed the point of contact in the village sphere for all sorts of administrative measures of the ruler. The representatives of the royal administration began to take over control of it. And when cremation became the custom in the village sphere as well, the *banjar* was the most logical institution to organize within the *desa* the mutual assistance needed for the purpose. Hence the *banjar* grew in importance and finally outstripped the *desa*.

We see, then, the early indigenous *banjar* obtaining a Hindu task, as far as cremation is concerned, and a shift in the village organization as a result of contact with the royal sphere.

177 764 (*c*) The cremation of the dead is still considered as one of the typically Hindu phenomena on Bali. Within the whole of Bali-

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nese culture it has come to fill the same function which burial or exposure, the early, indigenous methods of caring for the dead, had in older times. The tendency to take over usages from the royal sphere helped cremation to penetrate deeper and deeper into the popular sphere. But as a result cremation seems eventually to have incorporated non-Hindu elements, thereby changing in its nature. Any number of details point in this direction. In India the cremation itself, which purifies the soul of earthly matter, is the supreme moment, but on Bali as soon as the body has been given over to the flames interest usually flags, with many guests leaving and the mourning son taking off his formal attire. The emphasis falls much more strongly on the carrying of the body out of the house and the magnificent procession to the place of cremation, with many offerings and the like being taken along. In contrast to the simplicity characteristic of cremation in India, there is usually a great deal made of it on Bali. It is a tremendous celebration, in which one tries to surpass one's neighbours. In Tabanan not long ago a cremation was held that cost seventy-five thousand *rupiahs*[52] (at a time that the rate of exchange was approximately thirty-one *rupiahs* to the pound sterling).

The Hindu form of caring for the dead, then, has in most cases, supplanted the indigenous forms, but in doing so it in turn seems to have taken on a number of traits which were originally foreign to it.[53]

(*d*) The chief temple on Bali is Pura Bĕsakih, on the southwestern slope of Gunung Agung, the island's highest mountain, which for a large portion of Bali lies in the most favourable, most sacred direction of the compass. The preference for this direction is related to a classificational world picture that dates from the distant past.[54] Hence it is probable that the place was holy, and served as a sanctuary, even in early times. This is confirmed by the terrace construction of the temple, which – as we have seen – is typical for the style of the prehistoric sanctuaries. In keeping with this is the fact that the titles and names of the gods revered in the temple are pure Old Balinese, showing no Javanese or Sanskrit elements.

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ceremony, for example in the flowers and decorations. The four-fold classification dominated particularly as regards the offerings (both the *chatur* offerings for the gods and the *charu manchasanak* for the demons), as can be seen in the description given above, and was further apparent in all sorts of details regarding fruits, leaves, animals, numbers, and so forth which we have not been able to mention. This sort of repetition can be considered as characteristic for the world of Balinese thought.

One of the parts in which this repetition found expression was the *sanggar tawang* of the centre, with its fourfold colours, offerings, parasols, and so forth. It is, however, peculiar that the fourfold offering was placed on an altar fitted out with three sections. This is an example of a transition from the fourfold to the three-fold system. Such a thing happens more often; the second then becomes a sort of abbreviated formula for the first.

Finally, mention should be made of a still more differentiated system, an eightfold division which, taken together with the centre, forms a ninefold one, known on Bali under the name *nawa-sanga*. The best-known example of the *nawa-sanga* is the lotus (*padma*), with eight petals around the centre.

The borderline between the two systems cannot be sharply drawn. In a clearly fourfold ceremony such as the royal consecration described above there were also traits that pointed towards an eightfold or ninefold principle of arrangement, as for instance in the construction of the offerings. On the other hand the *nawa-sanga* can also be expressed in an abbreviated form in the fourfold system. Hence, according to Grader,[33] a four-coloured flower offering (*puspa*, compare the name of the ritual with flower offerings at the consecration ceremony) can be considered as an expression of the *nawa-sanga*.

There is good reason to believe that the eightfold system is of foreign origin[34] – which is not to say that it has not taken firm root on Bali. It unites the autochthonous with the foreign in its very name, formed as it is by a combination of the Sanskrit word for nine (*nawa*) plus its Balinese equivalent (*sanga*). It has often been suggested that the fourfold system, too, was borrowed. Vari-

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ous of its traits are known from India. Even so the system cannot be sufficiently explained in that way. Commenting on a four-coloured offering, Goris writes:

> In my opinion the colour division, possibly even linked with a corresponding distribution over the directions, is older than Hinduism. The four-five system [four around the centre] is also pre-Hindu, in my opinion. That later Hinduism, with its pantheon, its *lokapālas* [guardians of the directions], and its colours, could easily link up to it no one will deny. It was this close kinship in religious thinking that made various peoples in Indonesia such good soil, such a well-prepared field for several forms of earlier Hinduism.[35]

6

Reversing the Cosmic Order

That the cosmic order dominates life we are taught in the negative by the *pĕngiwa*. *Pĕngiwa* is derived from *kiwa*, 'left'; hence it means quite literally 'sinister actions', that is to say black magic. It is practised primarily by the dreaded *leyak* or werewolf, who spreads death and destruction, meets in graveyards, plans murders, and eats corpses. "A *leyak* never refuses carrion", one says on Bali of someone who is not particularly fastidious.

The *pĕngiwa* is classified with the nether world as '*kĕlod* squared'.[36] A *leyak* is a much more gruesome being than a demon. A demon falls within the normal pattern of things and remains a part of the whole. The *leyak*, however, represents to the uttermost one side of the universe, the demonic. It turns the true order of things upside down. That is clear, for example, from the following. The formula (*mantra*) with which a sort of guide to werewolfry begins runs *mang*, *ung*, *ang*.[37] In it one can trace the *triaksara*, 'the three characters', the formula for the threefold cosmic order.[38] The *leyak*, then, also uses these characters – but in the reverse order. Such a thing can lead only to cosmic disorder: the reversal of all the triads that can be associated with the *triaksara*. The cosmic order maintains life, and this reversal cannot lead to anything but death. Compare what is said of Chalon Arang, the queen of

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though some of them could not resist the enticement and attraction of the movement. It was no doubt from the latter that the impulse emanated to honour the dead of the resistance movement in Jayaprana and thus to give a nationalistic and anti-feudal colouring to his cremation. In this way they more or less consciously attempted to give a new content to traditional forms. And the combination seems to have been a success at that time.

Such a combination of old and new is not possible in every situation and for every person. In some cases Western-type education, modern medical methods, contact with religions and cultures with another orientation, and the like may lead to general doubts of the meaning and the value of the old religious practices. The old then becomes meaningless in form and content, and so should be rejected: the money that is spent on temple festivals and rites or on individual ceremonies can, in many people's opinion, be better spent. This was, for instance, the thinking of the head of a Balinese family who stipulated that he was to be cremated in the simplest way and that the money saved should be used to create a scholarship.

How will the antithesis between the old and the new develop on Bali; what response will Balinese culture and religion give to this challenge? A non-Balinese, an outsider, is hardly the person to make predictions. 'A dog barking at a coconut squirrel: how will it ever get hold of it', is the judgement Balinese wisdom would pass on such an attempt. Rather, let us consider the view of a few modern Balinese on the subject.

Among them are some who expect great things from the fruitful influence of India. Their attitude will be considered below.[3] Others will not own to anything of the sort. They believe that the Balinese religion can retain its validity and vitality in modern times. If reforms are necessary, they can be made within the existing framework: there is no need to go a-borrowing or a-begging of someone else. One of this latter group has argued that Balinese young people who become acquainted with other religions tend as a result to participate more actively, and with more conviction, in their own religion.[4]

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177 But there is also another attitude, expressed for example by a
538 descendant of one of the ruling families, a Balinese writer who had already achieved prominence before the war and who travelled in the Netherlands and India, owned a cinema, and took the initiative in establishing a public library and a private secondary school. He, if anyone, may be considered among the 'creative minority'. In his most recent novel[3] – written in Indonesian, like its predecessors – he poses the problem under consideration here. It appears in the form of a contrast between modern agnosticism and a belief in God. The novel describes the main character's path 'back to God', a path filled with romance, love, unhappiness, and heart-rending adventures. To combine the old and the new is apparently impossible for this figure: he finds God in Christianity, and at the end of the book becomes a Christian. Such a solution to the problem was to be expected from this author, who during the period of the Japanese occupation took the same step as his hero.

But alongside of the rather unrestrained main character the novel also depicts his elder brother, a sympathetic, level-headed figure whose name Widiada ('God exists') is symbolic of his religious attitude. As a modern man he is able to find contentment in a theosophically tinged faith in the existence of God and does not go so far as to break with tradition. It is he who advocates the ideas of religious tolerance the author cherishes, and – which is more difficult – puts them into practice when his younger brother comes to tell him that he has become a Christian. He can only be happy, he says to him, that someone who was 'without religion' has now become a follower of a 'religion with a God', the almighty, ever-present Creator who is also within man himself. In saying this he bases himself on a pantheistic passage from the *Upanisad* which he is busy translating at the time.

The motifs touched on here – an awareness of God, religious tolerance, and Hindu piety – can also be detected in other, differently oriented writings.

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the *wedas* as its holy book and Buddha as its prophet. It would therefore be the best thing to recognize and protect the religion of the Balinese, like that of the animists in Tapanuli and other groups, but only within its own territory. If this is not done, the writer argued, our people, who still have little religious discernment, will be at the mercy of 'the religions of ignorance' (the term for pre-Moslem heathendom in Arabia), with their temples and idols, and in that way the clock will be set back a thousand years. Again the reply was not long in coming. In it, with an appeal to the "freedom of every resident to profess his own religion and to worship according to his religion and belief" set forth in the provisional constitution, the author protested against the proposal of restricting the Balinese religion to Bali: like Islam and Christianity, the Balinese religion should have the right to spread its wings.[10]

Such an appeal to the constitution was only natural. But one of the five principles in the constitution's preamble specifically states that the Indonesian Republic is "based on the recognition of the Divine Omnipotence ..." (so runs the official translation; the Indonesian term is *ke-Tuhanan yang Maha Esa*, which can also be translated as "the fact of God being one"). Interpreted strictly, then, this principle is a rejection of polytheism as well as atheism. For many Balinese such a wording says too much, just as it says too little for many a Moslem.

In these circumstances it is understandable that the Balinese have tended to give emphasis to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi. At the same time, that emphasis complies with the inclination to make religion more an affair of the head and the heart than of outward, extensive (and thus expensive) ceremonies, for in principle there is no offering or temple cult for Widi.

3

Bali and India

If the view of the origin and development of Balinese culture presented in Chapter Two is correct, then that culture is a duality,

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with the autochthonous cultural heritage influenced by Hinduism, whether the Hinduism was introduced directly from India or indirectly, *via* Hindu-Javanism. Taken as a whole the culture must be called Hindu-Balinese, with a strong emphasis on 'Balinese'. As was seen above,[11] however, in leading circles there has always been a tendency to place much, if not all, emphasis on 'Hindu'. This overestimation of the share which Hinduism has had in the whole of Bali's culture has maintained itself down through the centuries, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that until very recently there had been practically no contact of a religious or cultural nature between Bali and India.

Nowadays the Balinese has the opportunity to come to know other cultures and religions. In this situation it is only natural for interest to be focused sharply on India. And there is much in India that is attractive to the modern Balinese, even apart from historical ties. If he thinks that his own religion is in too weak a position from a secular point of view, Hinduism is the religion of a nation that is playing an increasingly important rôle on the world stage. Moreover, though it can hardly be called monotheistic, it has forced Islam to grant it a certain amount of recognition: under Moslem rulers Hindus often enjoyed the same relative privileges as those the Koran grants to the 'people of the book', Jews and Christians. And the Balinese who thinks his own religion too 'primitive' or too outward can find a great deal that is attractive to him in Hindu religious philosophy, asceticism, and ethics. Hinduism is, moreover, a recognized world religion, and its philosophy is studied and admired everywhere. It has been able to maintain itself in the face of the intruding West, in a spiritual as well as a material sense.

In the last century many locally determined, closed cultures and religions, faced by the threatening force of the West, sought refuge in Islam, the greatest Oriental world religion. Bali, however, has always had enough religious and cultural self-confidence that no inclination arose to seek refuge elsewhere. Yet even if that self-confidence were to slacken now or in the near future, there would be little possibility of a flight-to-Islam, for most Balinese

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consider conversion to a religion of such a completely different character as Islam – or for that matter Christianity – to be an abandonment of their own nature, of the Balinese way of life which in their eyes is indissolubly linked with Balinese religion. They are aware that as Moslems they would no longer be able to fulfil properly their responsibilities towards the dead. Such a thing means to them a break with their past and a sense of guilt towards the progenitors of their family and the founders of their community. Accepting some form of Hinduism does not have to mean such a break, however, and so would be easier to accept than conversion to Islam.

Among persons with an interest in India there are various shades of opinion. Some of them expect from Hindu examples a great deal, and in various cases practically everything, towards the strengthening of their own religion. Reading or listening to what they have to say, one might almost forget that there is a Hindu-*Balinese* religion, with its temples and ceremonies, its offerings and rituals. Such an attitude is reflected in various books published in recent years. The books treat subjects of religious philosophy or ethics, worship, meditation, and yoga exercises, all of them in the Hindu vein. Aside from quotations and formulas in Sanskrit (sometimes provided with a translation, sometimes not), the language is ordinary, contemporary Balinese or Indonesian. The books, then, are directed towards a general public – a modern, democratic trait contradictory to the traditional and aristocratic esoteric secrecy, which is better served by writing in a difficult, antiquated, and literary language.

Writings of this Hinduizing type make up the majority of the recent Balinese religious books and tracts which have come to my attention. To conclude from this that the adherents of that trend also constitute the majority of the Balinese people, or at any rate of the Balinese modernists, would be premature, however. Many people do not tend to place such one-sided emphasis on the non-indigenous. Though they do attempt to create new ties with India, or to strengthen the old ones, it is not without losing sight of the intrinsic character of the autochthonous religion and the typical

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differences between Bali and India. The present reality of Hindu-Balinism is taken as basis, but in it Hindu characteristics are brought to the fore, and it is interpreted in a Hindu spirit.

Such an attitude is to be found, for instance, in a booklet on the Hindu-Balinese holidays.[12] Reading it, one will certainly not forget that there is a Balinese religion. The author takes as his basis the existing, generally celebrated holidays of the Balinese calendar, as they are described in a study in this volume.[13] A special emphasis is given to Galungan, "the national Balinese holiday", and the institution of that holiday, the offerings and ceremonies, and the formulas and prayers to be recited are discussed. The latter are given in Sanskrit, without translations, which fact makes it clear that the Hindu aspect is far from being neglected. That is also obvious when the author turns to the next festival after Galungan, Kuningan, which he describes as:

> ... a ceremony for the well-being and worship of the purified souls of the *ksatriya* heroes who acquired merit by liberating the island of Bali from brutal subjection to the demon king Mayadanawa. These are, then, the spirits of the *ksatriya* heroes – Aryans from India who came to Bali at the request of the early Balinese inhabitants, – both the spirits of those who fell in battle and those who died later. A small share of their descendants went back to Jambudwipa [India]; most of them remained permanently on the island of Bali. These Aryans ... are considered as divine beings or as incarnations of the gods.[14]

For this author, Nirartha's *Usana Bali* of sixteenth-century Gelgel[15] seems to have lost nothing of its significance.

Bogor, Indonesia, August, 1957

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stone structure, sometimes with a few smaller ones grouped around it. Stone was used for the whole design of both temples: there were altars and buildings entirely of stone or on stone bases, there was a stone outer wall, and in many cases there were also stone walls dividing the various temple grounds. All the stone surfaces were ornamented, and not only were there gold, silver, wood, and stone images in the chapels, but also the walls and stairs were adorned with stone statues. The woodwork, too – the pillars, the rear side of the *bales* (the so-called *parba*),[21] and the roofs, – was highly ornamented.

Following the example of these royal and state temples, the village temples were gradually also Hinduized architecturally, with the village *pura bale agung* following the state *pura pĕnataran* and the village *pura dalĕm* following the *prasada*. However, while the ruler, the living representative of the unity of the realm, had two temples, the village, as we have seen, had three. In the villages, then, there was a different system of thought, but one which eventually adjusted itself to the bipartite system of the Hindu rulers. The royal *pura pĕnataran* served both for the veneration of the lord of the ground and for religious meetings of state, and thus contained within itself the character of both the *pura puseh* and the *pura bale agung* on the village level, while the *prasada* or *chandi* was the place of contact with the deified ancestors of the ruler, and so had a function similar to that of the village *pura puseh*. The function of the village *pura dalĕm*, as a place of homage to the ancestors who had not yet been deified, the *pitara*, was not necessary on the royal level, since the ruler's ancestors were always cremated and their ashes placed in a *chandi*. The process of purifying their souls was not allowed to be delayed; a whole series of ceremonies, culminating in the placing of the ashes of a deceased ruler in the *chandi*, had to be begun immediately after death.

This was the dictate of the Hindu-Balinese ideal. In practice, however – particularly once the rulers in the first place no longer had the power or the means to build large *prasadas* and in the second place began to feel and think more in Balinese terms as a result of constant intermarriage with Balinese and an absence of

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fresh blood from India or Java, – a need developed for royal *puras dalĕm*, many of wich are to be found on Bali today. They obtained the names of specific ruling houses: Pura Dalĕm Koripan, Pura Dalĕm Sagĕning, Pura Dalĕm Gelgel, and so forth.

In this way a high degree of architectural unity in temple type developed in the areas which were strongly under the influence of the Hinduized rulers, and the *puras pĕnataran*, *bale agung*, and *pusĕh*, and also eventually the *puras dalĕm* (both for the ruler and for the village), began to resemble one another more and more in design and execution. Though the large covered gate is still reminiscent of the chief entry to the old *pura pĕnataran* and the split gate to the chief structure in the *pura chandi* or *prasada*, in this as well there was intermixture, and today countless temples have both types of gates.

There is one architectural type that requires separate consideration: the type of *pura dalĕm* which is frequently to be found in northern Bali (where in fact even other temples of the type besides *puras dalĕm* are encountered). The peculiar thing about this type is that in the final, innermost court of the temple there are three large stone structures on a stone base which is built in terraces or stories. The temples of Sangsit and Kubutambahan are good examples of the type. It does not at all resemble a *prasada*, and is clearly a terrace sanctuary. There are three or more stone terraces interrupted at three places on the front side by stairs leading up to the structures. At the corners of the terraces and at the points where they are interrupted by the stairs there are stone pilasters.

It is also noteworthy that the structures are closed and do not have pagoda-type multiple roofs such as the *merus* have. In some cases the central structure, the highest of the three, is an open stone seat resembling the lotus-seat for Surya, the sun god. If, as is by no means out of the question, this is an expression in stone on a grand scale of the *sanggah kĕmulan tiga-sakti*, then it must be a very old, pre-Hindu (though not indigenous) cultural element.

This is not the place to advance theories regarding the origin of this type of construction or of the *kĕmulan tiga-sakti* (which was later Hinduized into the trinity, and so fitted into the system).

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346 Nonetheless it seems logical to assume a pre-Hindu cultural in-
177 fluence. Once we come to know more of this hypothetical pre-Hindu cultural element, many other Balinese cultural phenomena such as the *lamak* (the plaited offering carpet), the *barong*, the *naga* (a creature to be distinguished from an ordinary serpent, and perhaps a dragon),[22] the winged lion, and so forth may become clear to us.

After these notes on the nature and purpose of the three important village temples and their architectural design, two other village sanctuaries may be mentioned. These are the *pura sĕgara* and the *pura bukit*. The *pura sĕgara*, or sea temple, though falling in the category of the village temples, is of course primarily to be found in *desas* located close to the seashore, while the *pura bukit*, or hilltop temple, is naturally more common in the mountain areas.

Let us now turn to the second series of symptoms indicating the religious character of the village community: the workings of the village administration.

2

The Village Administration

621 For an understanding of the structure and function of the village administration it is necessary to turn first of all to the mountain areas, where the pre-Hindu situation has been preserved to a large extent. A survey of conditions there[23] can be of help in understanding the newer type of villages found elsewhere, and can demonstrate that both in Karangasĕm and in Buleleng there are transitional forms towards the *desa* of the Hindu-Javanese type.

624 The village administration of yore was made up of a number of pairs of officials each consisting of one right member and one left member. This same division into two halves or phratries also obtained for the core villagers who did not hold office.

The lists of officials in certain mountain villages follow. In Songan there are two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, one *pĕnyarikan*, two *singgukans*, and seven pairs of *saihs nĕmbĕlas*.[24] In the Gianyar mountain vil-

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various temple festivals, and the celebration of the chief festivals 527
pangĕlĕm (at which the ruler throws golden images of fish and 782
shrimp into the sea at full moon in the month of Kapat) and *mĕlĕlasti* (when the gods are ritually purified in the sea). The village of Bungaya, together with neighbouring villages, has the task of supplying offering platforms.

Participation in the cockfights was compulsory in earlier times, with the proceeds serving for specific offerings. Such obligations are still to be found, for example, in the villages in the vicinity of the *desa* of Munchan (in Karangasĕm) for offerings in certain temples located in this chief village.

The village temples are also used for many irrigation-association [312]
festivals. One example out of many is the offering festival for irrigation water held in the *pura bale agung* at Sĕlat.

After this list of some of the festivals and ceremonies which must be held in a village context a word may be devoted to the basic thought behind such solemnities. This consists of the seeking of contact with the gods and the purification of the *desa* territory of certain magical stains.

In the earlier literature regarding Bali the theory is rather fre- 177
quently advanced that the original Balinese knew only spirits and 776
ghosts, and had first learnt of gods from the Hindus. Such a theory is based on insufficient knowledge both of the nature of the Balinese gods and of Hinduism, for the Balinese had not only evil spirits and demonic forces but many gods, while on the other hand the Hindus had many demons besides their celestial gods.

With a reference to the valuable outline of Hindu Balinism made 771
by Dr Bosch,[56] I may point out that Hinduism came to Bali in 177
two forms, as a priestly religion, particularly of the Çaiwasiddhānta sect, and as literature. The Çaiwasiddhānta sect had little respect for a temple cult and reduced everything religious to the contact of the disciple with his mentor and the layman with his priest. Moreover it had strong esoteric inclinations, so that its secret doctrine could only be imparted to those who were destined later to act as priests themselves. Hence the task of the Hindu- [743]
Balinese *pĕdanda* was not at all that of officiating in the temples,

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but rather that of reciting a series of Sanskrit *mantras* to consecrate the holy water or *tirta* required for various domestic and public ceremonies.

The other way in which Hinduism reached Bali was that of the great epics. These were not at all sectarianly Çaiwasiddhānta, but knew and recognized the three gods Brahmā, Çiwa, and Wiṣnu, though some of them were more specifically Çiwaitic or Wiṣnuitic in emphasis. It was through this literature and the dramatic repertoire derived from it that the ruler and the people came to know Hinduism.

The Hinduism of the epics had many deities (Brahmā with Saraswatī, Çiwa with Durgā, Wiṣnu with Çrī, and Gaṇeça, to mention only the most popular of them) and many demons and evil spirits. There were also offerings, temples, and calendar festivals, and moreover a whole domestic ceremonial (the contents of the *gṛhyasūtras*) for consecrating every important moment in human life, from birth to death, and the cremation of the body after death, by means of any number of solemnities and offerings. In this Hinduism there were many points of contact with indigenous Balinese religious thought, and sufficient affinities for the Balinese to become good Hindu-Balinese.

At this point let us return to the indigenous Balinese religion and its expression in the village community. This religion includes both gods and demons. The gods are the upper-worldly beings, the demons the nether-worldly forces. The whole realm both of the materially existing and of the immaterial, the intangible, existing only as an idea, can be arranged in these two categories.

In many respects the two categories manifest a peculiar antithesis and tension such as there is between the positive and negative poles of a magnet. The sun (and especially the rising sun), day, awakening, white, fire, and the waxing moon and full moon belong to the upper world; to the nether world belong the setting sun, night, sleep, black, water, and the waning moon and new moon. Contact should be sought with the upper-worldly forces, which must be supplicated for prosperity, fortune, and blessing. The nether-worldly forces must be appeased and their influence

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ngadang or *migadang*, meaning 'to guard', 'to spend the night guarding'. It is said that in earlier times, when the journey was still made on foot, people from Bratan *en route* to Pětěmon and to Jěmbrana never failed to pay homage at the sea temple and to make offerings on passing Labuhan Haji. (All but a few of the inhabitants of Bratan belong to the genealogical group of *pandes*, descendants of the traditional metalsmiths who are now scattered throughout Bali. A few decades ago a number of people from Bratan settled in newly opened territory in the west, especially in Pětěmon and Jěmbrana, and frequent contacts with the village of origin are still maintained.) It was also customary that on returning home safely to Bratan a traveller erected a *sanggah charukchuk* in his compound, and from there invoked the deity at Labuhan Haji. On this occasion interest was concentrated exclusively on Jěro Nyoman Pěngadangan, whose attention was attracted with the exclamation *ku-uk*. One of the offerings required for this *jěro nyoman* was opium, together with a whole set of opium smoker's equipment. (This prescription is less expensive in its consequences than it might seem, since the opium and the accompanying utensils can be asked back after the ceremonial has been completed.)

The significance of the word *haji* in the name Labuhan Haji is not certain. It is not very probable that it actually has to do with someone who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though there are many Moslems living in the hamlet at the present time. Possibly there is an association with the fact that on Java the realm of Majapahit was succeeded by an Islamic political order. It might also be a reference to the Balinese word *aji*, which means 'ruler' or 'father', and is frequently used in the title of address for *pědandas*. It may be that in this connection a tie must be sought with priestly figures such as Pědanda Dwijendra, who according to tradition brought the culture of Majapahit to Bali. There are a number of links between Dwijendra and western Buleleng, where the wise man lost his eldest daughter, Swabawa, at Pulaki.

In the *desa* of Bratan one of the village functionaries is called the *pasĕk haji*, without its being apparent what the actual meaning of

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the title may be. Bratan also provides other parallels with Labuhan Haji. Comparable to the unusual custom that Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan is regaled with opium is the following: in two household temples in Bratan there are altars for Dewa Gĕde Madura, a deity hailing from Madura. As a Moslem this god eats no pork, but rice steamed in leaves with skewered meat, the specifically Madurese dish, is never lacking at the ritual. Batara Paakan di Tĕgal, who has a chapel in the *desa* temple, is also Moslem and not permitted to eat pork (a prohibition which is called *nyĕlam*, from *sĕlam*). He is likewise of overseas origin, and comes from Grĕsik, the old port town near Surabaya. His altar is oriented towards the sea.

Nor does Bratan lack a Chinese deity. In the coconut groves to the west of the *pura dalĕm* is a place where the ground is very rich in lime and is completely white. This spot is considered as the residence of a god who, when he takes possession of a medium, speaks only Chinese. (It is said of the Moslem gods that they express themselves *via* a medium only in Malay or Javanese. It is usually not long before the medium asks for a black cap, a pair of trousers, and shoes, to Balinese the indispensable attributes for a Moslem from Java.) The Chinese deity has the function of being 'the god to whom the land belongs'. A few years ago an offering column surrounded by a wall was built for him at this spot amidst the coconut groves, after the god himself had expressed the desire for it. Every morning after rice has been cooked the sharecropper guarding the coconut grove makes a small rice offering at the column. Each *rĕrainan* the owner of the grove offers *ajĕngan*, *kĕtipat*, and *chanang raka*. Occasionally, for example on the anniversary of the coconut groves and on Chinese New Year, a barbecued pig is offered. Moreover the owner regularly goes there to make offerings when there is something going on in his own household temple. The white earth is considered as medicine by many people. Persons asking for it bring a few offerings, and usually pledge a vow to the god to make him a present once they have been cured. The god would not be Chinese if his wishes were not primarily for fireworks.

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like landscapes in which every branch and every leaf is carefully painted, done with the love of a Persian miniaturist, a Cranach, a Breughel or a Douanier Rousseau.

When I could speak fair Malay, I discovered it was not enough. Malay was the trade language between Balinese and foreigners, spoken mainly by the new generations of the towns, so I started to learn a little Balinese to be able to understand the most interesting people of the island – the older men and women – but just then we had to leave our new home to return to America. On the way back we stopped in Paris, where the Colonial Exposition was going on. There we found friends from Bali – the Tjokordes of Ubud, feudal lords of Spies's village, the leaders of the troupe of dancers and musicians that were the sensation of the exposition. With them I continued to study the difficult Balinese language, because I had then and there made up my mind to return to Bali as soon as possible. I had some random notes, and Rose had taken hundreds of photographs. Someone in Paris suggested publishing an album of the pictures, with text from the notes, which I later decided were disconnected and quite unsatisfactory. We had grown so homesick for Bali that the only thing left to do was to return, so in the summer of 1933, partly assisted by a generous scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation and partly with our savings, we sailed back to Bali.

At first we were disappointed; the tourist rush was in full swing and we began to hear that missionaries, unknown in Bali up to the time we left, were making converts, and everybody talked of trouble on their account. In Den Pasar a great many women had taken to wearing clumsy blouses, the young were developing contempt for Balinese ways, and the people complained of poverty, another novelty in Bali. Dutch gold currency had gone up, and even there, where trade is unimportant, prices had crashed to bottom levels. Only twenty-five cents could be obtained for one of the great sheafs of rice that before brought ten times as much; a cow could be bought for five guilders, and a pig for one. The Balinese were unable to obtain cash to pay back taxes, and their

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crowd of semi-nude Balinese of all ages, one cannot help wondering what the comparison would be should men and women of our cities suddenly appear in the streets nude above the waist.

Their character is easy, courteous, and gentle, but they can be intense and can show strong temper if aroused. They are gay and witty; there is nothing that a Balinese loves more than a good joke, especially if it is off-colour, and even children make ribald puns that are applauded by grown-ups. It is perhaps in their mad sense of humour, the spirit of Rabelaisian fun with which they handle even such forbidding subjects as religion and death, that lies the key to their character. The adjective "childish" or "childlike," so often misapplied to primitive peoples, does not suit the Balinese, because even the children show a sophistication often lacking in more civilized grown-ups. They are resourceful and intelligent, with acute senses and quick minds. Once, when I mentioned the goodness of a very short friend, the immediate reply was: "How could he be otherwise, he is so small!" One day Spies's monkey got loose and ran all over the house upsetting and breaking things. All the Balinese boys chased the monkey, but it let them come to within a few feet of it and then leaped out of reach onto the roof or a tree. The only one who did not join in the chase was Rapung, our teacher of Balinese, because he was a newcomer to the household and the monkey snarled and sprung at him every time Rapung passed near where it was tied: they hated each other. When it became plain that the monkey could not be captured so easily, one of the boys had the bright idea of having everybody pretend to attack Rapung, imitating the monkey, making faces, and squealing at him. Soon the monkey forgot that he himself was persecuted and joined in the attack, but when he was most aggressive someone grabbed him.

The pride of the Balinese has not permitted the development of one of the great professions of the East: there are no beggars in Bali. But this unique distinction is now threatened by tourists who lure boys and girls with dimes to take their pictures, and

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lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neighbours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans complain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

The villages are organized into compact boards or councils, independent of other villages. Every married man — that is, every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

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462 munists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer
[273] from sugar palms.

On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred
778 temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural
[609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[8]

Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style
184 temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú
346 said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more
778 for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[184] [8] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

[771] Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain obscure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation—high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity,
[177] headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the *kubu* (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

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was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

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However, in the more picturesque but less reliable historic records (*babad*) [5] it is stated that Madjapahit fell in 1478 under the reign of Bra Widjaya V (Krtabhumi, according to Stutterheim). Bra Widjaya was told by his chief priest that after forty days the title of Radja of Madjapahit would cease to exist. The king had such implicit faith in the prediction that at the expiration of that time he had himself burned alive. His son, unable to withstand the Mohammedan invasion and not daring to disobey the sentence of the priest, escaped to his last remaining colony; followed by his court, his priests, and his artists, he crossed over into Bali, settling on the south coast of Gelgel, at the foot of the Gunung Agung. There he proclaimed himself the king of Bali, the Dewa Agung, the hereditary title of the Radjas of Klungkung. The Dewa Agung divided the island into principalities which he gave to his relatives and generals to govern. By degrees these local chiefs grew independent of the Dewa Agung and became the Radjas of the smaller kingdoms into which Bali was later divided.[6]

It was of extreme significance for the cultural development of Bali that in the exodus of the rulers, the priests, and the intellectuals of what was the most civilized race of the Eastern islands, the cream of Javanese culture was transplanted as a unit into Bali. There the art, the religion and philosophy of the Hindu-Javanese were preserved and have flourished practically undisturbed until today. When the fury of intolerant Islamism drove the intellectuals of Java into Bali, they brought with them their classics and continued to cultivate their poetry and art, so that when Sir Stamford Raffles wanted to write the history of Java, he had to turn to Bali for what remains of the once great literature of Java.

THE DUTCH

The Balinese princes prospered and soon started out for new colonies, extending their influence to the East and conquering

[5] Raffles: *The History of Java.*

[6] Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Mengwi, Bangli, Klungkung, Karangasem, Buleleng, and Djimbrana.

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576 question with monosyllables, and one should not point with the index finger. It is better to use the words for the cardinal points to indicate direction, but if one must point, it should be done with the thumb, holding the rest of the hand closed.

574 431 The Balinese are constantly paying visits to one another, but no one would dream of making a formal visit without bringing along a gift of some sort: fruit, rice, eggs, or chickens, given casually and received without a word of thanks. It is taken for granted that the present is appreciated by the acceptance of it, but if one wants to be over-polite, one says: "*Tiang nunás*, I want it" or "I like it" (*idéh* in the common language). An object is handed with the right hand while touching the elbow with the left, and it is received with the same gesture.

431 123 The gift-problem became acute for us as we entered into a competition with our friends and neighbours for more and more valuable presents. Someone would arrive with a basket of eggs or rice; we repaid the visit taking a cheap head-cloth. On the next visit they came with piles of fruit and even live chickens, so we had to rush to the market to buy a batik shirt or a bottle of Javanese perfume. We generally ended by exchanging brocades, krisses, and so forth for pieces of silk, flashlights, and fountain pens. The Balinese are very much concerned with the price paid [435] for an object, and they always insisted on knowing what we paid for a present, until we realized that it was a great mistake to remove the price tags. When we bought new glasses or new plates, Dog, our house-boy, washed them carefully around the label so as not to rub off the price.

574 [292] It is necessary to be properly dressed to pay or to receive a visit. The breasts of men and women should be covered by a special breast-cloth, a *saput* for men and a *selendang* for women. People in the house always dashed for their breast-cloth, usually an ordinary foreign towel, when a special guest arrived. Immediately the visitor was provided with green coconuts to quench his [177] thirst, with cigarettes and betel-nut. Up-to-date Balinese like to offer soda-pop, coffee and Chinese pastries. The chewing of

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191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
197 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated
178 by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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seven hundred *kepeng* according to the exchange. There is no demand for their insignificant products, and the deflated Dutch currency has become harder than ever to obtain.

The Balinese are more and more eager for the " advantages of civilization " in the form of inferior foreign cloth, bicycles, flashlights, aniline dyes, and motor-cars, and if their miserable earnings are not taken away by the Arab merchants it is only because they are already due for back taxes. Besides a tax on each household, there is a *sawa* tax (*padjeg*) and a tax (*upeti*) on dry grounds bearing coconut and coffee trees. The most hated of taxes is that paid every time a Balinese kills a pig, no matter how small, for which he needs a certificate. This has led to clandestine slaughter and with it the reduction of the pig supply, and the reward promised to denouncers has introduced the element of discord into otherwise unified communities. Dr. Korn, the authority on Balinese sociology, says that the population would prefer an export tax on cattle to the troublesome slaughter tax.

With the relentless drain of the island's wealth, poverty, too, is on the increase and the Balinese are threatened with the loss of their lands through failure to pay taxes. They have been forced to sell whatever they possessed of value — antiques, fine brocades, jewellery, and even the bits of gold that decorate their krisses — to tourists and gold-hoarders, while theft and prostitution are on the increase. It is to be feared that if present conditions continue, the simple and well-organized life of the Balinese will be seriously disrupted and their institutions will collapse as a result of the unavoidable social unrest.

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of banana leaf over them. When finished, the leaf dishes were simply thrown to the pigs; no dishes were left to wash. A *kendih* of water was passed around after the meal, each drinking in turn and at a distance from it, letting a continuous jet of water fall into the open mouth, the lips never touching the spout. (When we tried to drink like the Balinese we succeeded only in choking or drenching ourselves.) The mouth and fingers were rinsed, and after emitting a loud belch of satisfaction the men took a nap or went to the *balé bandjar* to chat before resuming work. Generally the women ate after the men were finished, then fed the pigs, and spent the rest of the afternoon weaving, threshing rice, or simply delousing each other, a great social pastime.

For a while it seemed as if the art of hand weaving would be wrecked by the ever increasing importation of foreign cloth. Chinese silk thread was hard to obtain, aniline dyes gave brighter hues and were infinitely easier to handle than the old vegetable dyes, and Japanese rayon for a few cents a yard looked almost like real silk. In later years, however, the affluence of tourists has increased the market for Balinese handicrafts and many women derive an income from selling garish brocades. On our second visit the women of our household took to weaving and every afternoon the characteristic rhythmic sounds of many looms came from all directions.

On the Balinese loom (*prabot tennun*) the warp is stretched between a heavy wooden structure (*tjetjaga* and *pendalan*) and a sort of yoke (*épor*) shaped like a Cupid's bow held by the woman's back. After the bamboo spindle (*tunda*) has gone through the warp, the weave is tightened with a long ruler (*belida*) of polished hard wood that slides over a bamboo drum (*pengrorogan*), while the threads are separated with a bamboo tube (*bungbunggan*) provided with little bells that jingle at every move. Thus the work is made easier by the rhythmical sequence of three sounds: the tinkling of the bells, the sound of the hollow bamboo as it is struck by the ruler, and the energetic double knock to tighten the weave. Weaving is the main

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foreheads, but little girls learn feminine propriety by wearing a skirt many years before the boys. Priests dress all in white and one can recognize a high priest (*pedanda*, "staff-bearer") because he goes bareheaded and carries a staff (*danda*) topped by a crystal ball (*suryakanta*, "the glitter of the sun"), symbol of his authority.

It is unfortunate that new fashions in dress are introducing a new sort of class-consciousness. Young elegants feel superior and "emancipated" from the old-style peasant class when they wear a Malay *sarong*, a tube of cloth worn snug at the back, folded in front in two overlapping pleats and held at the waist by a leather belt. With the *sarong* go a pair of leather sandals, a common shirt, too often with the tails outside, and a European-style coat. This is the costume of school-teachers, clerks, chauffeurs, and those in frequent contact with Europeans, who will, in the long run, set the fashion for the rest of the population.

All women in North Bali have worn the Malay blouse (*badju*) for over half a century, since they were ordered to wear blouses by official decree "to protect the morals of the Dutch soldiers." Women of the Southern nobility started to wear *badjus*, and the fashion is rapidly spreading all over Bali. The Balinese form of *badju* is clumsy and ill-fitting and does not suit the huskier Balinese women as it does the slim Javanese. Many women cannot afford more than one *badju* and often let it go without washing. A girl who looks elegant and noble in the simple and healthy dress of the country, appears vulgar when "dressed up" in a tight *badju* of cheap cotton, not always clean, usually worn pinned up at the breast with a rusty safety-pin.

Those accustomed to associate nudity with savagery often refer to the Balinese as "charming primitive people unconcerned with clothes," but however scant and simple their daily costume may be, they love dressing up, and for feasts they will wear as elaborate a dress as they can afford, or borrow one rather than appear poorly clothed to parade at the feast. At temple feasts, weddings, and cremations one still sees middle-aged men in the

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The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

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177 53 theatre, or new ways of making sculptures and paintings. But the traditional art also remains, and when the artists tire of a new idea, they go back to the classic forms until a new style is again invented. They are great copyists and it is not surprising to find in a temple, as part of the decoration, a fat Chinese god or a scene representing a highway hold-up, or a crashing plane, events unknown in Bali, that can only be explained as having been copied from some Western magazine. Once a young Balinese painter saw my friend Walter Spies painting yellow high-lights on the tips of the leaves of a jungle scene. He went home and made a painting that was thoroughly Balinese, but with modelling and high-lights until then unknown in Balinese painting. [424] Artistic property cannot exist in the communal Balinese culture; if an artist invents or copies something that is an interesting novelty, soon all the others are reproducing the new find. Once a sculptor made a little statue representing the larvæ of an insect standing upright on its tail; a few weeks later everybody was making them and soon the statue market was flooded with Brancusi-like little erect worms on square bases.

532 517 Unlike the individualistic art of the West in which the main concern of the artist is to develop his personality in order to create an easily recognizable style as the means to attain his ultimate goal – recognition and fame – the anonymous artistic production of the Balinese, like their entire life, is the expression of collective thought. A piece of music or sculpture is often the work of two or more artists, and the pupils of a painter or a sculptor invariably collaborate with their master. The Balinese artist builds up with traditional standard elements. The arrangement and the general spirit may be his own, and there may even be a certain amount of individuality, however subordinated to the local style. There are definite proportions, standard features, peculiar garments, and so forth to represent a devil, a holy man, a prince, or a peasant, and the personality of a given character is determined, not so much by physical characteristics, but rather by sartorial details. The romantic heroes, Ardjuna, Rama, and

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Pandji, look exactly alike and can only be recognized by the head-dress peculiar to each. A strong differentiation is made between "fine" and "coarse" characters; Ardjuna, for instance, is refined, with narrow eyes and delicate features, while his brother, the warrior Bhima, has wild round eyes and wears a moustache. He is further identified by his chequered loincloth.

The Balinese obtain their artistic standards of beauty from ancient Java, and for centuries there has been only one way to treat a beautiful face; which they have, curiously enough, come to identify with themselves. Once, discussing the facial characteristics of various races with the Regent of Karangasem, a man of high Balinese education, he asked me how I drew a Balinese. He disagreed with my conception and proceeded to draw one himself, a face from the classic paintings and a type that could not be found on the whole island. Within these conventions, Balinese art is realistic without being photographic – that is, without attempting to give the optical illusion of the real thing. Thus there is no perspective and no modelling in painting, and sculpture is highly stylized. They admire technique and good craftsmanship above other points, and when I showed a Balinese friend a beautiful sculpture I had just acquired, he found fault with the minute parallel grooves that marked the strands of hair because in places they ran together.

Balinese art is not in the class of the "great" arts like great Chinese painting – the conscious production of works of art for their own sake, with an æsthetic value apart from their function. Again, it is too refined, too developed, to fit into peasant arts; nor is it one of the primitive arts, those subject to ritual and tribal laws, which we call "primitive" because their æsthetics do not conform to ours. Their art is a highly developed, although informal Baroque folk-art that combines the peasant liveliness with the refinement of the classicism of Hinduistic Java, but free of conservative prejudice and with a new vitality fired by the exuberance of the demoniac spirit of the tropical primitive. The Balinese peasants took the flowery art of ancient Java, itself an

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THE PERIOD OF MADJAPAHIT

175 After the death of Erlangga, Java went once more into decadence as a power, and various frustrated attempts to regain its former glory followed. During this period the hold on Bali relaxed and the island regained its political independence until the fourteenth century, when the new East Javanese empire of Madjapahit finally conquered its enemies and became supreme over the archipelago. Bali was made a vassal of Madjapahit, A.D. 1343, after vigorous campaigns against the famed Dalam Bedaulu, last of the Pedjeng dynasty and now classed as a mythical demon of great power.

After Bali was conquered, the generals of Madjapahit established a new dynasty of Javanese colonial rulers in Gelgel near Klungkung. A century later Madjapahit collapsed under the pressure of Islam, and Javanese rule finally gave way to a number of independent Balinese feudal lords, the descendants of the Javanese nobility, who were scattered all over the island. But in the period of years between the classic Sailendras and parvenu Madjapahit the art of Java suffered a great transformation, which was similarly felt in Bali. Under King Rayasanagara (Raja-
175 sanagara), better known by his native name *Hayam Wuruk*,
●177 Madjapahit became the most powerful empire of Indonesia, but
532 being strong nationalists, the Javanese of Madjapahit had repudiated the esoteric classic spirit and had reverted to native ideas, with the result that their art became strongly Javanized. Having lost its austerity and primitivism in the process, their art became earthly and realistic, taking the character of a sen-
[531] suous folk-art, intricate and essentially decorative, with a predominance of flaming motifs, volutes and spirals, leaves and flowers, animals and scenes from daily life; losing altogether its religious character.

177 Balinese art of the epoch of Madjapahit and its continuation
532 went even further in the love of unrestrained decoration and developed a freer and more fantastic art than that of Java of

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the same time. Although resembling the style of the ruins of Panataran in East Java, Balinese art is not the art of Java transplanted into Bali, but a parallel art, made even more Baroque by additional decorative elements from China. Tropical vegetation in stone invaded the architecture in the same way that

Tjili from a Clay Tile

the living creepers and parasites would engulf an abandoned monument in the hothouse atmosphere of Bali.

THE PLASTIC ARTS IN MODERN BALI

Sculpture and Architecture: The primary function of the average sculptor is to enhance the public buildings of his community with florid decoration and judging from the profusion of such carved temple and palace walls, gates, drum-towers, public baths, court houses, and so forth, seen even in the remotest districts, one comes to the conclusion that there must be an enormous

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532 stylized *wayangs*; their outline is always in profile, while in Bali-
[536] nese paintings a face in profile is never found. However, the influence of these forms in the æsthetic education of children was patent when Jane Belo distributed paper and water-colours among the children of the small village of Sayan, to see what children without artistic training would do; the majority turned out pictures that were arrangements of elementary interpretations of *wayang* shapes.

178 Together with sculpture, painting underwent a liberating revo-
532 lution after boys from around Ubud started to paint pictures in a "new" style. These were curious scenes from daily life on backgrounds of Balinese landscapes and village scenes, a mixture of realism and of the formal stylistic, with naïve figures of ordinary Balinese: a woman feeding chickens, men working in the fields, a cremation, and a dance performance, subjects that were never attempted before by Balinese painters.

This developed rapidly into a more mature, naturalistic style, producing a new crop of fine artists, each with a definite individual mark, such as I Sobrat, Madé Griya, and Gusti Nyoman from Ubud, Ida Bagus Anom from Mas, and the group of young painters from Batuan who draw fantastic forests and strange figures in half-tone against solid black backgrounds. These artists were encouraged by Spies and the Dutch painter Bonnet, who bought their pictures and provided them with materials; being careful, however, to keep undesirable influences from them, and helping them to sell their work in the museum of Den Pasar, a clearing-house where only pictures of high quality are exhibited.

New materials increased the possibilities of the newly liberated
● [177] art. The introduction of European paper, Chinese ink, hair brushes, and steel pens resulted in a new style of pictures in black and white, mosaics of delicate black lines with washes of various tones of greys and black, often touched with gold and red. But there are also formal paintings on wood or cloth done in the old Balinese pigments in which they attempted to give atmosphere

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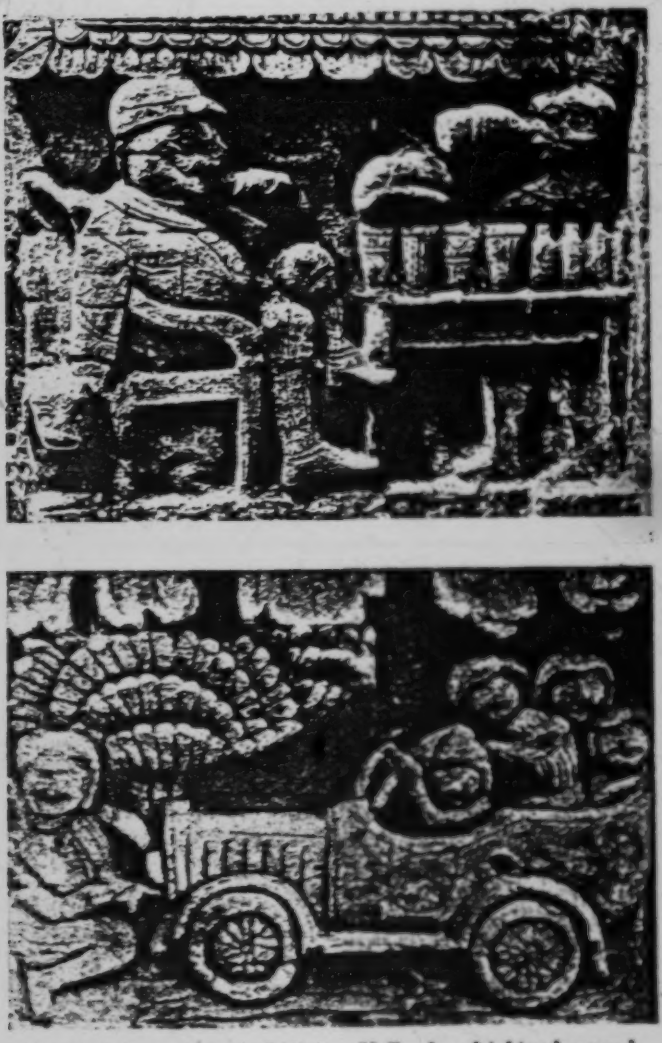

North Balinese Temple Reliefs — Hollanders drinking beer and cranking a motor-car

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the rival orchestras were installed at either end of a large shed specially built for the occasion. A great crowd surrounded them. In the middle sat an impressive jury made up of the local princes and *pungawas*. The orchestras in turn played their best compositions while the audience remained silent. At the end the jurors went into deliberation and awarded the decision to the rival *gamelan*, who had come all the way from the district of Tabanan.

Despite the fact that there is no trace of Occidental influence in the music of Bali, even those who hear it for the first time are carried away by it. Musicians who have gone to Bali have become ardent admirers of Balinese music. Walter Spies was the first to take an interest in it and to write transcriptions, Leopold Stokowski wanted to bring a Balinese orchestra to America, and Colin McPhee has spent years in Bali compiling material and writing down the music. However, the laws of Balinese music are different from those of the West. There is in Balinese music a unified range of sonorities tending towards one sound; with the exception of certain bamboo xylophones, an incidental bamboo flute, or a two-string violin, all of the instruments are metals struck with mallets; there is a general tone-colour of metallic percussions – tinkling, acid sonorities that can be clashing and violent or soft and delicate, but are never sweet and plaintive. Their musical phraseology is simpler, more confined within a margin of sobriety, than our expansive and unrestrained music.

The Balinese have developed their music to the point of having a special type of orchestra for every purpose, each differing from the others in sonority, in the instruments composing it, in the pieces played, and even in scale. (The Balinese scale, with certain exceptions, consists of five notes, named from low to high: *ding, dong, deng, dung, dang*, corresponding to our E, F, G, B, C.) The "concert" orchestra is entirely different from the one used for feasts, cremations, and processions. The same holds true for the music employed for the various styles of plays and dances; the orchestra for marionette shadow-plays is radically different from the one used for the dances of young girls, which

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533 the gambang is not exclusively Balinese is shown by the fact that there are reliefs in the East Javanese ruin of Tjandi Panataran depicting gambangs.

THE DANCE

A FOCUS OF BALINESE LIFE

595 Next to having good orchestras, a fine group of dancers is an almost organic need for the spiritual and physical life of the community. Besides the passion they show for their music and dancing and the important part these play in the ritual, to have a skilful and famous group of dancers brings pride and social prestige to the village ward, the *bandjar*. The young men of today are 177 fond of football games, but all other attempts to introduce foreign 517 amusements have failed in Bali. The rare movie shows in the two large towns are patronized almost exclusively by the foreign population, and not even the rich princes like phonographs, although there are excellent records of Balinese music. I do not know anyone who has a radio.

535 Balinese dancing is essentially for exhibition: dancing to enter- 545 tain an audience and for display of skill, a stage of development that belongs to an advanced civilization, but that in Bali goes hand in hand with the ritual-magic dances characteristic of primitive peoples. Thus the survival of the primitive in a developed society, a characteristic of everything Balinese, shows itself in the dancing as well as in the general mode of life. In the religious dances the community amuses itself at the same time that it tries [765] to propitiate the gods and ward off evil spirits. There are even violent self-sacrificial dances in which the performers in a trance simulate self-torture with knives or walk on fire to appease the bloodthirsty evil spirits and to show their supernatural powers.

773 The Balinese attribute a divine origin to music and dancing. 535 It is said that Batara Gurú, the Supreme Teacher, invented the first instruments, and that Indra, the Lord of the Heavens, originated dancing when he created the incomparably beautiful *dedari*, the nymphs of heaven, to dance for the pleasure of the

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kebiyar it is necessary to have what the Balinese call a "good" face, expressive and mobile, and to possess elegance, intensity and personal magnetism, besides highly finished technical training. Mario had great musical knowledge and one of his specialties was to play the *trompong* while he danced, twirling the sticks in his fingers and moving with great agility along the scale of inverted bronze bowls. The *kebiyar* was very popular during Mario's time, especially among the men. It was frequently performed as an interpretation of *kekawin*, epic poems chanted in the archaic language by expert story-tellers, while Mario translated into movement the episodes of the poems with that curious detachment of pure rhythm and abstract gesture so typically Balinese. Good dancers of *kebiyar* are rare today; of Mario's pupils, only one, I Gusti Rake, also of Tabanan, has inherited Mario's intensity and style, and he is becoming as famous as Mario once was.

THE SHADOW-PLAY

MYSTICISM AND SLAPSTICK

Perhaps poetry and the drama were born in Bali with the introduction of the great epics of the Hindus, the famous *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. They came by way of Java as propaganda for the ancient Hindus and as part of their religious teachings. The semi-divine protagonists of the poems, the princes Rama and Ardjuna, gods reincarnated to save the world, soon captured the popular imagination with their romantic adventures and their fantastic wars against evil. They not only became the idols, the heroes, models of conduct for the Balinese, but were accepted as the ancestors and ideal of the race.

The early religious teachers of Java rewrote the great Indian works into the local literary language, the Kawi, archaic Javanese, in which nine out of every ten words are Sanskrit. The rich and flowery Kawi is today the classical language of poetry (*kawi* means "poet") used by Balinese intellectuals, who have con-

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198 538 tinued to practise it, keeping it as alive as it was in Java during the golden age of Hinduism before it fell into neglect at the advent of Islamism. It was not without reason that Raffles wrote in his *History of Java:* "The ancient mythological poems are preserved in Bali in more correct form than in Java."

533 538 The poems are written in stanzas based on the Sanskrit metre (*sloka*), which the Balinese have developed into as many as forty-seven different poetical measures that are particularly well suited to singing. These are given out to the masses by story-tellers who chant the Kawi texts while an interpreter explains them in ordinary Balinese. The people soon learned the Kawi poems by heart, although they do not understand the actual words and chant them purely for the sake of their musical metre. Today even boys of the common classes gather at night for hours to sing in Kawi, though the meaning of the songs may be obscure to them. Musical accompaniments were eventually added to the epic songs, and story-telling developed into a fine art in the form called *kekawin*, in which a large orchestra plays interludes between the episodes and dialogues recited and translated by two story-tellers.

536 538 177 The episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* remain the most important literary works that the Balinese have appropriated for their own literature, and they have influenced the theatre to a great extent. But there are countless other stories, Javanese, native, even Chinese, that make the bulk of the literature of Bali, now being compiled by the Kawi scholars of Bali, Java, and Holland.

536 [775] [769] Out of an ancient shamanistic performance in which the ancestors were brought to this world in the form of shadows to communicate with their descendants, came the *wayang kulit*, the shadow-plays — a performance by marionettes (*wayang*) that cast their shadows on a screen and are manipulated by a mystic story-teller, the *dalang*. In olden times the *wayang* may have represented the forefathers and the *dalang* the priest, but in all probability the Hindu teachers of early times took advan-

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miraculous feats of agility and strength, as, for instance, his famous leap across the ocean to Rawana's island to discover where Sita is held. When Hanuman is sent to bring healing herbs from the forest he is unable to recognize the magic plants and, angered, tears out the entire mountain top and brings it back with him.

Or the episode represented may come from the *Mahabharata*. Then the plot deals with the feud between two rival princely houses: the Pandawas, five brothers who are models of virtue (the mystic Yudistra, Bhima, uncouth warrior and powerful magician, the romantic lover Ardjuna, and Nakula and Sahadewa), against their hundred cousins, the jealous and treacherous Korawas, headed by the unprincipled Duryodana. The Korawas, through trickery and intrigue, succeeded in ousting the Pandawas from their kingdom and banishing them into the forest for twelve years. During their exile the princes acquire the magic strength to wage the Great War, the Barata Yudda, against the evil Korawas, who are finally exterminated after a battle so fierce that it makes "the rivers stand still, the sun pale, and the mountains tremble."

The symbolical struggle between absolute virtue and absolute evil is the backbone and the characteristic of the Hinduistic literature of Bali. Each character is sharply defined; he is either a fiend or a hero. But the figures of Hindu origin have always remained aloof and esoteric to the Balinese, who have provided the *wayang* with more interesting and amusing characters of their own.

These are the *parekan*, the servants or attendants of the principals. On the side of truth and righteousness are Twalén and his son Merdah, while Délam and Sangut are the retainers of the "left," the villains. Twalén is a ponderous black monster with a pot-belly, a great wit, and a magic air about him. He is the really intelligent character of the *wayang*, who by his resourcefulness and knowledge of the occult saves every situation and makes the hero appear as the conqueror of every combat.

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are romantic episodes of memorable love affairs of princes and princesses, generally full of fantastic situations and with a distinct erotic flavour. The distinguished characters speak and sing in kawi, which is translated into common Balinese by the comedians for the benefit of the unscholarly crowd. The comedy is incredibly funny and rough slapstick, sprinkled with all sorts of bawdy jokes.

Besides the traditional stories, there are popular new plays such as *Sampik* and *Tuan Wei*, adaptations of Chinese love stories that started in 1924 as bastard performances with actors in European clothes playing on mandolins. Eventually these stories became thoroughly Balinese and were incorporated in the *ardja*.

THE DJANGER

An inevitable sight for the newly arrived tourist every Saturday morning was the *djanger*. Under the hanging roots of a great *waringing*, or banyan tree, in the central square of the village, sat a dozen boys and a dozen girls in groups of six, forming a square, the girls facing the girls, the boys opposite each other; a dance master, the *daag*, sat in the centre. The boys wore blue sashes and red hibiscus over their ears; the girls had great fan-shaped head-dresses of flowers and were wrapped in gilt cloth from the armpits to the feet. The boys shouted and shook while the girls sang with baby voices, flinging their hands and flashing their eyes. After a while a girl appeared dressed as a prince, singing and posturing, quarrelling with a wild-looking bird, an actor with a frightful mask, wings, and a bright-coloured tail. The show ended with the death of the bird, shot by an arrow of the prince. Half of the tourists looked on, while the other half snapped pictures furiously. The performance was picturesque and justified the fee, but somehow it did not ring true. Despite the fact that the elaborate show was held on the open road, it attracted only a few children, and the dancers seemed bored and indifferent.

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535 545 883 On our first night in Bali, strolling on the outskirts of Den Pasar, we heard again the same syncopated, persistent beat of drums and gongs we had heard in the morning. Following the sound, we came upon a great crowd watching a show, and after a good deal of pushing, we managed to make our way to the front rows. There were the dancers of the morning, but it was the *djanger* for the Balinese. Instead of tourists comfortably seated on folding chairs, the nude torsos of a great mob of eager people pressed us on all sides until we could not move a hand and were nearly suffocated by the constant blast of human breath, overpowered with heat and the heavy perfumes that emanated from the dense crowd. Children climbed on walls and trees or crawled over our feet, trying desperately to see something. Instead of the "traditional" costume worn for [292] tourists, the girls wore tight chiffon blouses, their flower crowns [177] framing their heavily powdered faces. The boys were dressed in European shirts, neckties, shorts, golf socks, and football shoes. Over their shoulders they wore a sort of chasuble of black velvet with appliqués of gold braid, spangles, and epaulets of gold fringe. They had red flowers on their bare heads and incongruous false moustaches on their chalky faces. Only the dance master wore the usual theatrical costume of brocade, but with an added shirt and bow tie. Like the others he wore a huge moustache.

We never discovered the purpose behind the absurd costume; perhaps it was only fun, perhaps to caricature Europeans. But the insanity of the costume was surpassed by that of the performance: to the serpentine melody of a bamboo flute and the [533] syncopated beat of drums and gongs, the girls sang nonsensical songs about flowers, rice cakes, and so forth, many words without meaning, simply to create rhythm: "djange – djange – djangerere . . ." while their hands flew, the flowers on their head shook, and their eyes snapped in unison with their necks. The boys, the *ketjak*, swayed and shook, shouting: "Ketjakketjakketjak – tjak! tjipo – *oh!* tjipo – *oh!* a-ha-aha!" much in the

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535 Later I found out that the *djanger* was a recent development.
545 It had started suddenly, when, about 1925, the first company of
177 Malay operettas (*stambul*) visited the island. The Balinese immediately created their own version of the pantomime, and the *djanger* spread like an epidemic; everywhere *djanger* groups were formed and soon every *bandjar* could boast a *djanger* club. It was the first time that boys and girls joined to dance for the fun of performing together, their first social dance. Every district developed its own style. In Buleleng there was a group in which the girls wore shorts, showing their legs, a rather shocking exhibition for the Balinese, who called it *djanger melalong*, the "naked djanger," but it was popular among the rich Chinese of Buleleng. The *djanger* was then the most popular entertainment. Nobody cared to see anything else and every girl in Bali hoped to become a *djanger* and hummed the songs all day. We feared that the *djanger* would kill other forms of Balinese dancing, but on our return two years later, we were surprised to find that there was no more *djanger*; all the famous groups had stopped. Some of the girls had married, and since there was no more demand, the groups were not reorganized. The most exhilarating show of the Balinese was dead and forgotten. Only a sleepy group remained: the *djanger* for the tourists, still avidly photographing what they called "temple dancers."

536 With the passing of the *djanger*, the classical forms of theatre
177 regained popularity, and during our second visit it was the *ardja*
545 that had again become the favourite. The style of the *djanger* was a puzzling departure from the refinement of the Balinese theatre. The singing was obviously derived from the magic *sanghyang* songs, and the costumes and acrobatic figures might have been copied from the Westernized Malay shows, but the general mood, the seating arrangements, and the movements can only be explained as a throw-back to the Polynesian spirit.

177 The case of the *djanger* was an interesting example of the atti-
517 tude of the Balinese towards their arts: their love of novelty and

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easy following after all new ideas, which are soon assimilated into their traditional forms. This enables the islanders to create new styles constantly, to inject new life steadily into their culture, which at the same time never loses its Balinese characteristics.

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spirits of their ancestors dwelling in the summits of the volcanoes that form the island; ordinary human beings living in the middle world, the land that lies between the mountain tops and the sea, which is the home of devils and fanged giants, the enemies of mankind.

Placed between these two poles from which emanate opposing forces (the positive from the mountains and the negative from the underworld), the entire life of the calm and sensitive Balinese – their daily routine, social organization, their ethics, manners, art; in short, the total culture of the island – is moulded by a system of traditional rules subordinated to religious beliefs. By this system they regulate every act of their lives so that it shall be in harmony with the natural forces, which they divide eternally into pairs: male and female – the creative principle; right and left; high and low – the principles of place, direction, and rank; strong and weak, or healthy and sick, clean and unclean; sacred and powerful or unholy and dangerous; in general: Good and Evil, Life and Death.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION

The conglomerate of religious principles manifests itself in elaborate cults of ancestors and deities of fertility, of fire, water, earth, and sun, of the mountains and the sea, of gods and devils. They are the backbone of the Balinese religion, which is generally referred to as Hinduism, but which is in reality too close to the earth, too animistic, to be taken as the same esoteric religion as that of the Hindus of India. Since the earliest times, when Bali was under the rule of the great empires that flourished in the golden era of Hinduistic Java, the various forms of Javanese religion became in turn the religions of Bali, from the Mahayanic Buddhism of the Sailendras in the seventh century, the orthodox Sivaism of the ninth, to the demoniac practices of the Tantric sects of the eleventh century. In later times Bali adopted the modified, highly Javanized religion of Madjapahit, when Hinduism had become strongly tinged with native Indo-

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nesian ideas. Each of these epochs left a deep mark in Balinese ritual; to the native Balinese cults of ancestors, of the elements, and of evil spirits, were added the sacrifices of blood and the practices of black magic of the Tantric Buddhists, the Vishnuite cult of the underworld, Brahmanic juggling of mystic words and cabalistic syllables, the cremation of the dead, and so forth, all, however, absorbed and transformed to the point of losing their identity, to suit the temper of the Balinese.

It is true that Hindu gods and practices are constantly in evidence, but their aspect and significance differ in Bali to such an extent from orthodox Hinduism that we find the primitive beliefs of a people who never lost contact with the soil rising supreme over the religious philosophy and practices of their masters. Like the Catholicism of some American Indians, Hinduism was simply an addition to the native religion, more as a decoy to keep the masters content, a strong but superficial veneer of decorative Hinduistic practices over the deeply rooted animism of the Balinese natives.

Religion is to the Balinese both race and nationality; a Balinese loses automatically the right to be called a Balinese if he changes his faith or if a Balinese woman marries a Mohammedan, a Chinese, or a Christian, because she takes leave forever of her own family gods when she moves into her husband's home and instead worships his gods from that time on. The religious sages, the Brahmanic priests, remain outsiders, aloof from the ordinary Balinese, who have their own priests, simple people whose office is to guard and sweep the community temples, in which there are no idols, no images of gods to be worshipped. These temples are frequented by the ancestral gods, who are supposed to occupy temporarily the little empty shrines dedicated to them, when visiting their descendants. The Balinese live with their forefathers in a great family of the dead and the living, and it would be absurd for them to try to make converts of another nationality, since the ancestors of the converts would still remain of another race apart.

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were ruled by councils of village members and officials who governed as representatives of the ancestral spirits. Since the land, source of all wealth, also belonged to the ancestors, individual ownership of land was not recognized, and it is remarkable, but typical, that the village officials still govern as a duty to the community and without remuneration.

Furthermore, the Balinese have been extremely liberal in matters of religion. Every time a new idea was introduced into the island, instead of repudiating it, they took it for what it was worth and, if they found it interesting enough, assimilated it into their religion, since no one knew what power there might be in the new gods. In this manner, from all the sects and cults that at one time or another reached the island, they selected anew the principles that best suited their own ideas and accumulated a vast store of religious power. Buddha became to them the younger brother of Siva, and if the efforts of the Christian missionaries who are attempting to convert the Balinese succeed, it is not unlikely that in the future "Sanghyang Widi," the exalted name that the missionaries have adopted for Jesus, will become a first cousin of Siva and Buddha and will enjoy offerings and a shrine where he can rest when he chooses to visit Bali.

TEMPLES AND TEMPLE FEASTS

The temple is certainly the most important institution on the island and the clearest illustration of the spirit of the Balinese religion. There are temples everywhere, from the modest family shrines in every household, to the extravagant temples of the princes and great town temples; large or small, plain or richly carved temples found in the ricefields, in the cemeteries, in the markets, on the beaches, in caves, among the tangle of gnarled roots of old *waringins*, on deserted hill tops and even on the barren rocks along the coastline.

When we discovered that the Balinese did not seem to mind

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796 805 [443] held in rotation every day in one of the villages that work in groups of three.

Other date names are used mainly for magic and religious purposes, making of the calendar a science so complicated in itself that it is practised mainly by specialists, generally the Brahmanic priests and witch-doctors, who, by the ownership of intricate charts (*tika*) with secret symbols painted on paper or carved in wood, and of palm-leaf manuscripts (*wariga*) by which the lucky or unlucky dates are located, make the people dependent on them for this purpose, because the Balinese are obliged to consult them for good dates for every special undertaking and have to pay for the consultation.

777 805 793

769 796 *Galunggan.* *Nyepí* is the acknowledged New Year feast of the solar-lunar year, but the Balinese celebrate another "new year" in the great holiday of *galunggan*, when the ancestral spirits come down to earth to dwell again in the homes of their descendants. The ancestors supposedly arrive five days before the day of *galunggan*, receive many offerings, and go back to heaven after ten days, five days before *kuninggan*, the feast of all souls.

Every home and all implements were provided with offerings for *galunggan*, the old utensils renewed and the baskets washed. On all the roads, at the gate of every home, tall *penyors* were erected, meant perhaps to be seen from the summits of the mountains where the gods dwell, together with a little bamboo altar from which hung a *lamak*, one of those beautiful mosaics on long strips of palm-leaf. For this occasion the *lamaks* were over thirty feet long and had to hang from the tops of the coconut trees.

292 796 Everybody wore new clothes and the whole of Bali went out for a great national picnic. Everywhere there were women with offerings on their heads and many old men dressed for the occasion in old-fashioned style, gold kris and all, although with an incongruous imported undershirt. The younger generation preferred to tear all over the island in open motor-cars, packed like

[177] [494] [883]

[Text continues on page 286]

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796 long line of happy people in the orange light of the sunset, walking on the mud among thousands of strange vermilion crabs that peered out of their holes, constantly waving a mysterious single purple claw.

776 When a Balinese speaks of his gods, collectively called *dewas*,
769 he does not mean the great divinities of Hinduism, but refers to an endless variety of protective spirits – *sanghyang*, *pitara*, *kawitan*, all of whom are in some way connected with the idea of ancestry. The rather vague term *dewa* includes not only the immediate ancestors worshipped in the family temple, or the nameless forefathers, founders of his community, to whom the village temples are dedicated, but also certain Hindu characters of his liking whom he has adopted into the Balinese race and has come to regard also as his ancestors. Rama, for instance, the hero of the *Ramayana*, is Wisnu reincarnated into a brave prince who came to earth to save the world. In a later crisis the god once more took human form and came to Bali to put things in order (as Gadja Mada, according to Friederich), becoming the ancestor of the present Balinese. From the cult of deified dead kings the nobility has accepted the idea of their divine ancestry so naturally as to assure one in all earnest from which god they trace their descent. This notion has extended to the people and I have heard even the Bali Aga Elders of Kintamani invoke Batara Rama as "grandfather" (*kaki*).

[177] [773]

The ancestors, being closest to the people, have remained the first gods, and their cult formed the link between this earth and the spirit world. The introduction of great ceremonies for cremation of the dead was easily correlated to this idea because the purpose of it was to consecrate the soul of a deceased family head in order to release and convey the soul to the heaven where it will dwell as a family god, a *dewa yang* (see Note 6, page 316), when it receives a place in the family shrine.

[764]

177 The deities of the Hindu pantheon are mostly those wor-
776 shipped in India, the high "Lords" – *batara* – but in Bali

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they acquire a decidedly Balinese personality. Centuries of religious penetration did not convince the Balinese that the *bataras* were their gods; they were too aloof, too aristocratic, to be concerned with human insignificance, and the people continue to appeal to their infinitely more accessible local *dewas* to give them happiness and prosperity.

The *bataras* remained remote in the popular mind, regarded rather as deified foreign lords like their princes, and as far as the Balinese are concerned, their functions ended when they created the world with all that it contains. The *bataras* appear in Balinese literature with such human characteristics and are so susceptible to the passions of ordinary mortals that they become merely mythological figures losing their esoteric significance. Typical is the amusing episode in the *Tjatur Yoga* in which Batara Gurú, the Supreme Teacher, quarrelled with Batara Brahma for the privilege of making men:

"After Siwa had created the insects, Wisnu the trees, Isora the fruits, and Sambu the flowers, Batara Gurú discussed with Brahma the creation of human beings to populate the new world. Brahma admitted he did not know how and asked Batara Gurú to try first. The latter then made four figures, four men out of red earth, and went into meditation so that they could talk, think, walk, and work. Brahma remarked that if those were human beings, then he could make men, and taking some clay, he proceeded to make a figure that resembled a man. Batara Gurú was annoyed and made the rain, which lasted for three days, destroying the figure Brahma had made. When the rain stopped, Brahma tried again, this time baking the figure. On seeing the man of baked clay, Batara Gurú boasted he would eat excrement if Brahma could give it life, but Brahma succeeded in making it alive by meditation and demanded that Batara Gurú make good his boast. Enraged, Batara Gurú took some clay and made images of dogs that became living dogs, and wished that forever after they should walk, whine, bark, and eat excrement."

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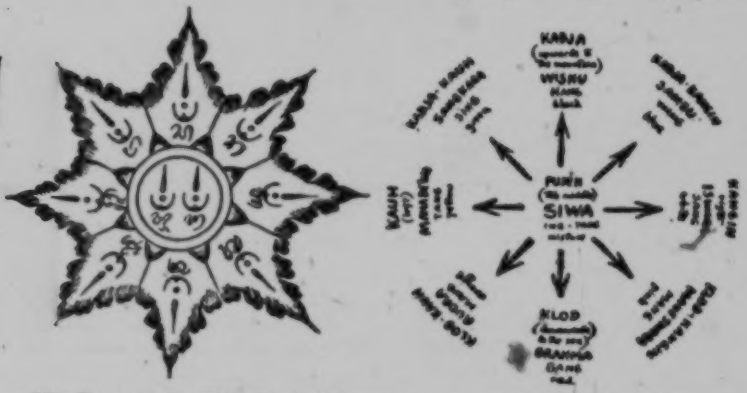
I have seen ceremonies with nine priests officiating, one for each of the cardinal points.

From India the Brahmanic priests inherited a good portion of the sacred Sanskrit writings of the Hindus, such as portions of the Vedas, called in Bali Weda, containing the most powerful secret formulas for the private use of the priests; the *Brahmanda-Purana*, a treatise on cosmogony, mythology, and mythic



The Rose of the Winds, the *Nawa Sangga*, with the Cardinal Directions, Their Patron Gods, Their Corresponding Syllables, and the Colour of each

chronology; and the *Tuturs*, the doctrinal writings of the pedandas. In this manner the priests preserved the knowledge of Sanskrit, the really sacred language of Bali, which is, however, only known by the name of *sloka*, the metre in which Sanskrit works are written. The learning of Sanskrit is kept a secret among the priests and should not be confused with the *Kawi*, which is only the classic language of poetry, well known to the nobility and to scholars in general.

From the scriptures the priests obtained the all-powerful *mantras*, formulas of magic words recited, or rather mumbled inwardly, accompanied by special gestures to give added emphasis to this abracadabra. *Mantras* consist of litanies of praise, each phrase preceded by mysterious sounds, syllables that are

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793 anger, remain conscious of the teachings, and be in unison with
[577] the teacher.

Later on, he studies Sanskrit (*sloka*) and learns the Wedas.
[198] Eventually he is initiated by his teacher in a most elaborate ceremony, which I know only by hearsay, in which the teacher leads the hands of his pupil with his own hands to perform his first maweda. The pupil makes repeated reverences (*sembah*) to his teacher and to the sun, washes and kisses his teacher's feet, and receives his priestly credentials, a secret document containing powerful formulas written on a blade of *lontar* palm. I have been told that the pupil "dies" symbolically during the ceremony and is reborn as a priest, and that his body is then washed and treated exactly like a corpse.

771 As conclusion, we find that the amazing conglomerate of traditions, beliefs, and philosophies that together constitute the Balinese religion, one that is as complex and tangled as can be found anywhere today, alone is the most powerful motivating force to the entire life of the island. Our knowledge of Bali is as young as the history of its contacts with the West, and a good deal will have to be unravelled before we can have a clear picture of that unique product of tropical Asia, the character of the Balinese, which is reflected in the fantastic interpretation of
177 religious ideas from India, China, and Java. These were at times
771 assimilated with a sense of practical logic, at times obviously misunderstood; but the result was a healthy and thoroughly Balinese manner of belief. Despite Hinduistic deviations, religious symbols and ideas retained much of their original, primitive simplicity, and fanaticism and idolatry did not overshadow the ancient animist worship of nature and of the elements.

771 Whatever the source of these ideas may be, the Balinese worship the sun, the earth, and water as sources of life-giving fertility; fire is a purifying element. The sea receives offerings once a year in a great feast in Lebih on the Gianyar coast. Also sources of fertility, and the dwellings of the gods, are the moun-

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All legends of the origin of sunguhus agree that they were high priests degraded in rank because of some fault or because they worshipped demoniac characters. The *Usana Djawa* mentions that they were Brahmanas degraded because they worshipped the devil Dalem Mur Samplangan. *Sunguhus* also claim to be descended from the two sons of the great religious teacher Mpú Bharada; one branch of the family was degraded. They claim further that they were pupils of Mpú Kuturan, Bharada's brother, but never attained great wisdom and did not become full-fledged high priests, but only *budjangga bali*, a term for *sunguhus* for which there is no satisfactory explanation (a child of a Brahmana and a Sudra becomes a *budjangga*). Another manuscript states that the *sunguhus* were descendants of I Guta, a fallen dweller of the sky, who on earth became a man-eating raksasa. He became a servant of Mpú Djidjaksara, cousin of Mpú Kuturan and Bharada. He imitated his master at office, but was caught in the act and from then on was allowed to officiate as priest of the devil offerings (Korn: *Adatrecht van Bali*).

5. *The Calendar. The Solar-Lunar Year.* The Hindu saka (Sanskrit: çaka) year by which the mountain people, the Bali Aga, still reckon time and set the dates for their temple festivals is divided into twelve months (*saséh*) the names of which are simply the Balinese numbers from one to ten: 1, *kasa*; 2, *karo*; 3, *katiga*; 4, *kapat*; 5, *kalima*; 6, *kanam*; 7, *kapitú*; 8, *kaulú*; 9, *kasanga*; 10, *kadasa*; with two additional names, *desta* and *sada*, to make up the twelve months. These two last names are corruptions of the Sanskrit names of the eleventh and twelfth months. The ritual Sanskrit names of the months are, as the Balinese pronounce them: *s'rawana, badra wada, asudjé, kartika, margasira, posya, maga, palguna, madumasa, wesaka, djiesta*, and *asada*.

These months consist of 29 or 30 days counted from each new moon. The year has either 354, 355, or 356 days, a difference of 9 to 11 days from the true solar year. This is corrected by the addition of an extra month (*saséh nampeh*) every thirty months, corresponding to about two and a half of our years. There are thirty lunar days in each month, but one day is jumped over every 63 days (nine weeks of seven days) to correlate them with the 29 or 30 solar days in each month (Goris: "Bali's Hoogtijden").

Nyepí, the most important yearly feast, the purification of the entire island, marks the spring equinox and is the only national festival of the saka calendar. It falls on the first day, the "dark moon" of the ninth month (*tilem-kasanga*), despite which it is regarded as the beginning of the year. The *nyepí* ceremony here described, which took place on the

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or as balls of fire and living shadowlike white cloths, but also in the shapes of weird animals: pigs, dogs, monkeys, or tigers. Witches often assume the form of beautiful mute girls who make obscene advances to young men on lonely roads at night. *Leyaks* are, however, progressive and now they are said to prefer more modern shapes for their transformations; motor-cars and bicycles that run in and out of temples without drivers and whose tires pulsate as if breathing. There are even *leyak* airplanes sweeping over the roof-tops after midnight. Children cry during the night because they see *leyaks* that become invisible on approaching to gnaw at their entrails. Then the child becomes sick and soon dies; that explains the high death-rate among children.

The ever unwilling patients of the modern hospital in Den Pasar claim to have seen strange shadows under doors and flocks of monkeys that grimace at them through the windows; the congregation of sick, magically weakened people naturally attracts legions of *leyaks* and for this reason they fear having to go to the hospital. Witches congregate under the *kepuh* trees always found in cemeteries, but they are also attracted to the "male" papaya tree (that which bears no fruit) and like to carry on their orgies of blood and their love affairs under its shadow; consequently these trees are never permitted to grow within the village limits.

I was told that to see the *leyaks* that happen to be about, one must stand naked and, bending over suddenly, look between one's legs. They can be recognized by the flames (*endéh*) that issue out of their hanging tongues and from the top of their heads. This does not work with foreigners, because the *leyaks* "are shy and do not show themselves to outsiders"; thus, even the Balinese who fear *leyaks* so that they dare not mention the word *leyak* are not in the least impressed with the bravery of a skeptical stranger who walks alone at night into a cemetery or some such *leyak*-ridden place.

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THE WITCH-DOCTORS, MAGIC, AND MEDICINE

There were two medicine-men, two *balians* among the friends that often visited us. One of these was a learned, serious, middle-aged man who practised medicine and was progressive enough to adopt some Western medicines like quinine tablets for malaria, to which, however, he added Balinese magic by reciting formulas over them. He liked to discuss the methods of foreigners and often came to us to ask for medicines. The other *balian* was the extreme reverse; he enjoyed the terrifying reputation of teacher and chief of bands of *leyaks*, and our friends had warned us in whispers that many of the old women of our *leyak*-ridden neighbourhood were his pupils; nobody had the slightest doubt of his great magical powers. His appearance was as demoniac as his reputation: enormous fingernails on knotty long fingers, half-extinguished little eyes burning still with a wicked gleam, and a great, bloody cave for a mouth, entirely toothless and always crimson with betel juice. He dressed smartly in a blue silk *saput*, and his gestures showed a rather studied elegance. He was gay and solicitous, but he loved to appear mysterious at times.

Our two friends belonged to the two arch-types of Balinese *balians*. One was the inspired mystic who works through fits of temperament and trances to fight the evil forces and who by his inherent *sakti* is able to dominate the supernatural spirits. Shamanism is his medium; he can see "far away" by going into a trance and looking into a mirror or a container with water. Through his self-induced trances he comes in contact with his assisting spirit, perhaps his father's, a former great *balian*, whose reputation establishes the prestige enjoyed by the son; thus possessed by his assisting spirit, he is able to go into the spirit world and fight the wrongdoer. During the trances the *balian* growls and mumbles monologues similar to those in plays, in which he relates his adventures in Hades. Often he dances entranced, elegant versions of duels with malignant spirits. I was told that such a *balian* can see a guilt in the eyes of a boy or a

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CHAPTER XII

MODERN BALI AND THE FUTURE

"ISN'T BALI SPOILED?" is invariably the question that greets the returned traveller from Bali — meaning, is the island overrun by tourists, and are the Balinese all wearing shirts? The questioners are visibly disappointed to hear of big hotels, fine roads, and motor-cars; there is still enough of the Robinson Crusoe in travellers to make each one of them want to be the "only" white man among picturesque semi-naked, dark-skinned savages, although they would preferably see them from a motor-car or a hotel veranda.

Bali was only conquered by the Dutch in 1908, but long before that the libraries of Holland had been filling slowly with scholarly volumes on the literature, the archæology, and the religion of Bali. However, the remote little island only became news to the rest of the Western world with the advent, a few years ago, of a series of documentary films of Bali with a strong emphasis on sex appeal. These films were a revelation and now everybody knows that Balinese girls have beautiful bodies and that the islanders lead a musical-comedy sort of life full of weird, picturesque rites. The title of one of these films, Goona-goona, the Balinese term for "magic," became at the time Newyorkese for sex allure.

[P. 391] [PP. 389-390 are blank]

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The newly discovered " last paradise " became the contemporary substitute for the nineteenth-century romantic conception of primitive Utopia, until then the exclusive monopoly of Tahiti and other South Sea Islands. And lately travel agencies have used the alluring name of Bali to attract hordes of tourists for their round-the-world cruises that make a one-day stop on the island. On this day the tourists are herded to the hotel in Den Pasar to eat their lunch, buy curios, and watch hurried performances by bored " temple dancers " — ordinary village actors who hate to play in the midday heat. The show over, the tourists are rushed back to their ships in numbered cars, satisfied to have seen Bali. An average of five or six such cruises unload every winter some fifteen hundred round-the-world tourists that leave the Balinese puzzled as to why all these madmen come from so far for only a day. They would never willingly leave their island, and once an old woman remarked that surely the foreigners must have done something at home that forced them to leave their own lands.

The great cruise ships come with twice as many visitors as can be taken care of by the island's limited supply of motor-cars, and half the tourists have to remain on board ship until the others return. On one occasion it was planned to send a troupe of dancers and musicians to entertain those who had to remain on board, but the ship's officers objected; " they could not allow natives to overrun the ship; something might be stolen." They were persuaded that the Balinese were an honest people and they let them come to play and dance for the tourists, but when the show was over and the Balinese started packing to leave, one of their large bronze gongs in a carved wood frame was missing! The gong was never found.

Besides the cruises, every week two K.P.M. boats bring a handful of more enterprising visitors that stay for three days or even for a week or two. They land in the northern port of Buleleng, which has been under direct Dutch control for nearly a

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hundred years. There all the houses and all the temples have tin roofs and all the women wear soiled blouses, "signs of civilization," both supposedly made compulsory by official decree – to the joy of the importers of foreign cloth and of galvanized tin. After the Dutch occupation of Buleleng in 1848, someone decided that the morals of the Dutch soldiers needed protection, and a law was passed requiring the women to wear blouses. Tin roofs also, it is rumoured, were ordered to replace the thatched ones because an official became deeply concerned about the possibility of fires caused by "exploding automobiles." Only three years ago the women of Den Pasar went to market proudly uncovered to the waist, but the princes' wives wore the ugly blouses and soon they became the dictate of fashion. In Den Pasar they now regard those who go habitually with uncovered breasts as "crude mountain people." Young men are growing contemptuous of the simple batik *kain* and headcloth of their forefathers. After dark, in Buleleng and Den Pasar, the equipment of the smart young man-about-town consists of a set of striped pyjamas, a Mohammedan skull-cap, sandals, a bicycle, and a flashlight, although he may still wear flowers behind his ear to stroll on the main street among the food-vendors, the flourishing prostitutes and procurors that haunt the streets around the hotels.

Undoubtedly Bali will soon enough be "spoiled" for those fastidious travellers who abhor all that which they bring with them. No longer will the curious Balinese of the remote mountain villages, still unaccustomed to the sight of whites, crowd around their cars to stare silently at the "exotic" long-nosed, yellow-haired foreigners in their midst. But even when all the Balinese will have learned to wear shirts, to beg, lie, steal, and prostitute themselves to satisfy new needs, the tourists will continue to come to Bali to see the sights, snapping pictures frantically, dashing from temple to temple, back to the hotel for meals, and on to watch rites and dances staged for them. The Balinese

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000 will be, to the tourists, guides, chauffeurs, and bellboys to be tipped, dancers on salary, curio-dealers, and tropical beauties to be photographed blouseless for a fee.

177 546 The younger generation is rapidly being cut off from a cultural environment which they have learned to regard as below them, considering their parents, formerly their models of behaviour, as rude peasants who have not gone to school. This, however, is not the fault of Hollywood. To Bali goes the distinction of being totally uninterested in the movies. Over a decade ago an enterprising Armenian brought the first movies to the island. At first he cleaned up, all the Balinese had to see the miracle; but, not used to paying for entertainment, they soon grew bored with something they could not understand and the movies were a failure. Today there are two small primitive movie houses, one in Buleleng and one in Den Pasar, that give Sunday shows of films often twenty-five years old, patronized chiefly by the foreign population. Chaplin may be a favourite of even the Eskimos, but to the Balinese who saw him in the flesh he was simply the funny man who came to Bali with his brother and who, after watching a Balinese play, took the stage and performed for them a hilarious parody of their dances.

177 875 In Bali the exalted title of Teacher, *Gurú*, is the name of one of their highest gods and is the most respectful way of addressing one's father. The old-fashioned teachers were the reservoirs of the science and poetry of Balinese culture, but those young Balinese who have gone to Java to become teachers for the Western-style Government schools have returned convinced that what they learned in Java is the essence of knowledge and progress. They have become conscious of the contempt of Europeans for the native cultures and have been influenced to believe that the philosophy, arts and habits of their country are signs of peasant backwardness.

177 871 The young gurus look upon the graceful and healthful costume of the island, so well suited to the climate, as indecent and primitive and demand that their little pupils wear shirts in school. A

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little girl once told me her teacher said it was improper to show one's breasts. In at least one case the result has been tragic; in the little mountain village of Kayubihi a child was shamed by his teacher because he did not wear a shirt, but his father, who had never owned one (nor had any of his ancestors), refused to buy it for him. He felt so thoroughly disgraced that one night he hanged himself from the tree in front of the schoolhouse.

The teacher forces his half-digested jumble of European ideas on the little pupils, who from the beginning of their education learn to look down on everything Balinese. They are taught about what a European child learns in primary school; they learn to speak and write in Malay, a language foreign to Bali, which most often their parents ignore, and some even have a smattering of Dutch, so when they come out of school they make good, cheap clerks, totally uninterested in their own culture. Most speak better Malay than Balinese and feel above the everyday requirements of Balinese life. Since there are so few jobs available on the island in which such education would be required, making clerks of the Balinese seems to make European education have a negative and even detrimental effect. Typical was the case of Rapung, the young school-teacher out of work who gave me lessons in Balinese; he was intelligent and rather well informed, yet he wanted to learn to cook or to serve at table or become a house-boy. Of course agriculture was much below him.

It seems too bad that modern education, at least in Bali, where the entire life of the island is so dependent on its traditions, tends to disinherit the future generation from their culture, simply because it is snubbed in the educational program of the schools. It is true that many young Balinese are still taught at home the rudiments of the native education, often by old-fashioned *gurus*, but what is not officially recognized by their teachers will soon become discredited. There are, however, encouraging rumours that the Government plans a revision of the system.

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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

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621 officiated as a duty to the community and without reward. If to the inherent spirit of co-operation and high ethical standards [464] of the Balinese we add their model institutions, we may find the explanation in the fact that the Balinese never actually became wage-earners, and even now coolie labour for hire remains unimportant. Despite their poverty the Balinese are freer and live better than do most natives under colonial rule.

However, the contact of Balinese culture, first with the feudal 177 princes and lately with our civilization in the form of trade, unsuitable education, tourists, and now missionaries, has made a deep dent in the simple and logical life of the Balinese. The changes are taking place so rapidly that they were strikingly evident even after a two years' absence, the time elapsed between our first and second visits to the island. Fine roads and new necessities are encouraging the consumption of foreign commodities such as imported cloth, motor-cars, and gasoline, and the islanders will learn to desire more and more the "advantages of civilization," thus creating a gigantic exodus of the island's wealth. The Balinese have lived well under a self-sufficient co-operative system, the foundation of which is reciprocal assistance, with money used only as a secondary commodity. Being extremely limited in means to obtain the cash — scarcer every day — necessary to pay taxes and satisfy new needs, it is to be [182] feared that the gradual breaking down of their institutions, together with the drain on their national wealth, will make coolies, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes of the proud and honourable Balinese of this generation, and will, in the long run, bring a social and economic catastrophe.

000 Unfortunate as this is, the power of our civilization to penetrate can no longer be ignored. It would be futile to recommend measures to prevent the relentless march of Westernization; tourists cannot be kept out, the needs of trade will not be restricted for sentimental reasons, and missionary societies are often powerful. To advocate the unconditional preservation of their picturesque culture in the midst of modern civilization would be

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the equivalent of turning Bali into a living museum, putting the entire island into a glass case for the enjoyment of hordes of tourists. It is a matter of deep regret to see a million intelligent people, living a simple and logical life ruled by an almost unprecedentedly harmonious co-operativism and with a truly great national culture, be turned into an experimental field for missionaries and a stamping-ground for traders.

In adapting foreign ideas to their own culture the Balinese have shown unusual logic and an intelligent power of assimilation. It is to be hoped that those in control of the island's future will see that progress comes to the Balinese naturally and gradually and that they shall be permitted to decide for themselves what they want to absorb without losing their essential qualities and becoming another vanishing race of coolies. The Balinese deserve a better fate; they are too proud and intelligent to be treated with the prevalent arrogance and patronizing attitude of colonizers who regard the native as a shiftless and treacherous inferior whose contact pollutes the "superior" whites and who regard those who show deference to the native as a menace to the prestige — greatly menaced nowadays — of the often bigoted and insolent whites in the colonies.

The Dutch have been often called the best colonizers in the world, and whatever the verdict may be on the principle of colonization, it is lucky for Bali that of the imperialists it is Holland that rules there. The Netherlands Government boasts of a motto of "Rule with love and wisdom" and a policy of non-interference with the native life. There is no doubt that these principles have been followed in Bali whenever their application did not interfere with colonial interests, and the native has derived definite benefits from Dutch rule: land may not be sold for exploitation by strangers, the autocratic powers of the princes have been considerably curtailed, the Balinese have retained their laws and their courts, and the troublesome missionaries were supposedly barred from the island.

Up to now the Dutch have shown a more humanitarian treat-

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *peddanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian desa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *meweda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

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grandchildren, and the hordes of *gendaroewa*, *widiadari* and *widiadara*, all to be gathered in the east on the meeting-place (*pesamoewan* — the *Pepelik*).
And when they have come to the village at the east (*Désa Poerwa*), let them be seated on a seat of silver, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

This long prayer the priest intoned to the accompaniment of his bell, which he rang steadily throughout the "invitation." He followed it with the rather clumsy execution of a few *mudras* (*moedras*), the intricate language of hand gestures inherited from the Hindus, of whose meaning he has not the least idea. He calls this not *memoedra* but *medjaja-djaja*.

Then, holding in his hand a rolled up leaf and flower (*kalpika*), he sang the *sloka*:

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Pardon me, Great God, who is merciful to all living!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada Siwa! (see pages 30, 41, 44, 45)

He offered the water-bowl and jar with the formula:

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely
Om, may there be prosperity, may there be happiness.
(see pages 39 and 26)

Making holy water (*Mekarja tirta*)

Now followed the making of holy water, begged from all the gods who had just been called, and from the demons, using the same prayers as those for the making of holy water preceding the *metjaroe* (pages 22–23). But he added, this time, a piece in a different rhythm (*saroeti*) of whose meaning again he had no idea:

Wong Gangga Sindoe Sarasoewati, goewawa ring darma wenadi, sarwa bala soemahenda, kana kama soewatang wenaka, nederang desti nendakijem, poernijem poerna djanlé soewati, nemangalem darpa dedéwi, poernem dara nior mamoernem, namato dia wisoewajem, déwi ko déwi kadjatijem, Siwa merta amastoetè, kaderantjani djata kési.
Ari doewètè naina nama, menadi atoer najajem, déwa déwi dija ganem, meroe peredaksina rteh, poerwa to gana mamoenem, sama kelesa winasajem, sarwa moentjar dadi berata, soeraksaja nama lemamah.

Then spoken:

Atoera kelesa winasajem asoewantjana nama namah.

The holy water, thus made, was of two kinds, the *pengeloekatan* in the clay pot, and the *pebersihan*, in the bowl. The priest sprinkled the offer-

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center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

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music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

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thus only the ancestral temple of the ruling *radja's* ancestors, to whom the villagers owe allegiance, or of the ancestors of some former king, to whom their ancestors owed allegiance. Through the Hinduistic background of their princes the people have received the heritage of Hinduism. But it is rather a thin layer spread over their older religious practices and beliefs. The names of the chief deities of Hinduism, Siva, Brahma, Vishnu, Iswara, are known to them and are heard in the priestly formulas and in prayers the priests recite, but they are not, even after 500 years, very closely held in the hearts of the people, they are not endowed with personalities, not intimately prayed to. On the other hand, the prescribed ceremonials and the regular, calendric giving of offerings to propitiate the gods are very strictly held to. The way the temple membership is set up in the village organization, it is impossible, and unthinkable, to abstain from participation in the calendric services.

The abode of the gods is the sacred mountain of Bali, the Goenoeng Agoeng. The god of this mountain is a male, and his wife is the sacred lake, the Danau Batoer. The mountain is thought of both as a god and as a site, the home of the Hinduistic gods, who return there after they have been down to manifest their presences in the temples at the time of festival. There is in Hindu mythology, too, a sacred mountain, Mount Meru, on which is situated the Heaven of Indra, *Swarga*. This Hinduistic Olympus is placed by European scholars as originally "some mountain north of the Himalayas."[1] It is characteristic of Balinese Hinduism that the Balinese mountain, Goenoeng Agoeng, should have become identified with Mount Meru, that, in fact, the whole sacred function of the mythological mountain of the Hindus should have been transposed to Bali and set down, as it were, on the site of the center and peak of Balinese holiness.

Priestly functions. In the old style villages the priestly functions are fulfilled by the old, top ranking men, the ***kebajan*** and ***kebaoe,*** in the dual organization, and occasionally by a *balian,* a priest or priestess, who may be a member of the village or called from outside the village. *Balians* are knowledgeable, have a store of rituals and formulas chiefly borrowed from the Hinduistic and Buddhistic ceremonial, and often practice by going into trance in order to ascertain the gods' will. They may serve, alternatively, for curing the sick, finding lost objects, setting up communications with the other world by divining the gods' will or by impersonating them. Another sort of specialist who may be called in is the ***sengguhu*** priest, also casteless except as regards the older guild castes, who derives his title from the conch

[1] Dowson, 1928, "Mount Meru."

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comprehended but not articulately stated by the people whom it most directly concerns.

And I shall try to show, by some actual examples, how such a mythological figure may come to life in the small hours at a village festival, may come to life and, by even the least little action, stir the whole community by her sanctity and strength and add by that much to her store of legend. It would be difficult to overstress how real this creature is to the present day Balinese. She has the sort of authenticity which in our culture belongs to Santa Claus, to the Tax Collector, and to the Angel of Death—with the difference that we could not very well imagine all these figures rolled into one, while the Balinese seem to find no difficulty in attributing to Rangda such a multiplicity. They know her well, they expect the worst of her. Whatever turn events may take, she will be evil, she will be female, she will be angry, she will destroy, she will behave like fear incarnate. And you cannot kill her. Over and over the Balinese reiterate, telling her stories, "you cannot kill her." It is not even any use to play out her death in the dramatic version, for she is always there, everlasting and indestructible, just Rangda.

But the strange thing is that any enactment of Rangda's role, either in institutionalized, ceremonial fashion or as a part of a dramatic performance offered outside the temple at the time of a festival or, perhaps most propitiously, when a temple member during the ceremony spontaneously goes into trance and is possessed by the god of the Rangda, and the mask, heretofore hidden away in a basket in one of the shrines where offerings are laid out, is brought forth and put upon the possessed's head and worn throughout his godly impersonation, is considered a fortunate occurrence, if not an actual exorcism, certainly in the nature of a reassurance that the powers of evil, though forever with us, are under control and in such close communication with living humankind that they may be quite easily propitiated and kept in a favorable frame of mind. It seems to give a Balinese a comfortable feeling to see this long fanged, long nailed, bulging eyed, hairy creature, with the hairy pendulous breasts, her whole body traversed by horizontal black and white stripes, cavorting and careening in the temple enclosure, to be brought finally to quiescence with incense and holy water, a few offerings, and a word or two of respect. The entranced player comes to himself, the mask is put away once more in the basket, stored in the temple. The player merges with the crowd, totally amnesic for what has happened.

To those who are interested in following the thread of Hindu influence coming down out of the past to form a part of the weft of current Balinese life, the consonance of the character of Rangda with that of Durga as they think of her is both striking and inescapable. But in following this thread,

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they at times become so enthusiastic that they fail to remark how tenuous it is in places. Rangda is a Balinese mythical figure. Durga is, on the other hand, a widely known personage of the Hindu pantheon whose character is defined in Sanskrit literature, whose attributes have been variously represented according to the time level and the geographical and cultural locale in which the representations have been made. To say that Rangda is Durga is not untrue. But it is true only in the measure that one can say that the Black Christ made by a group of Indians in Mexico and venerated by them on the site of an ancient Aztec temple is the Jesus Christ of Palestine and the New Testament, or in the measure that certain Transformer tales of the Coast Salish on the Northwest Coast of America, when they are brought under Christian influence, identify the figures of *dókwibul* and Moon with Christ.[1] The influence is there, but it can only be accepted and understood by the receiving culture according to its own lights and in terms of its own experience and characteristic structuring of the natural and supernatural worlds.

With this forewarning, then, let us look at the evidence. Vlekke gives the following dates in his historical outline of Hinduistic influences in the Indonesian Archipelago.

c. 1-700 A.D. Hindu immigration into the East Indian islands.

c. 400 A.D. Oldest Sanskrit inscriptions (at Muara Kaman) prove the existence of a Hindu-Indonesian state in East Borneo.

414. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-hien reports Brahmanism to be the prevailing religion in Java and Sumatra.

424. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir preaches Buddhism in Sumatra.

c. 670. First reports on the Sumatran kingdom of Shrivijaya. The religion of its kings is Mahayana-Buddhist.

c. 750. Construction of the Shivaist temples of the Dieng Plateau (Java).

c. 770-800. Mahayana Buddhism becomes the official religion of the kingdom of Central Java. Construction of Borobudur and Tjandi Mendut (temples), etc.

c. 800. Shrivijaya is the predominant naval power in the archipelago.

c. 870. Return of the Shivaist kings of East Java to Central Java (Mataram).

c. 900. Construction of the Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan (Java).

c. 930. Central Java deserted by its kings and most of its inhabitants.

c. 989-1007. Dharmavangça, king of East Java, extends his power over Bali, promulgates laws, causes the *Mahabharata* to be translated into Old Javanese.

1019-1049. Airlangga (Erlangga, the Balinese prince, becomes through his mother) king of East Java. After his death the kingdom is divided into the states of Kadiri and Janggala.

[1] Smith, n.d.

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1102. Moslem inscriptions at Leran, Java, the first indication of Islam in the archipelago. 175

c. 1290. First town in the Indies (Perlak in northern Sumatra) converted to Islam.

1292. Marco Polo visits Sumatra.

1260-1295. China is united under the rule of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. First Chinese expansion to the south.

1294. Prince Vijaya expels the Chinese from Java and founds the kingdom of Madjapahit.

1294-1307. Vijaya extends the authority of Madjapahit over East Java, Madura, and Bali.

1307-1368. Revolt of China against the Mongols, followed by the founding of the Ming dynasty.

1331-1364. Gajah Mada, *patih* (minister) of Madjapahit, extends the authority of his kings over all coastlands between Malaya and the Moluccas.

c. 1350. Refugees from Java found the port of Malacca (Malay States).

1403. The emperors of the Ming dynasty begin a policy of expansion towards the south.

1405. Cheng-Ho, ambassador of the Chinese emperor, visits Malaya. Later embassies force all princes of Sumatra and Java to recognize Chinese overlordship.

1414. Malacca accepts Islam.

1419. First Moslem graves at Gresik, Java.

1465-1486. Marhum, first sultan of Ternate, spreads Islam in the Moluccas.

1478. Traditional date of the fall of Madjapahit. The kingdom probably subsisted fifty years longer.[4]

The bare listing of these events preceding the advent of European influences, Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch, gives an idea of the complexity of the historical pattern through which the Durga thread has to be followed. It seems clear enough to students of Balinese culture that the periods of closest contact between the little island and the more highly refined cultures of Hinduized Java, namely the period of King Erlangga, in the eleventh century, and the Madjapahit period, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are those which have remained fresh in Balinese legend and drama, continually celebrated in the smallest villages and at the courts of the princes. The fact that Bali served as a refuge for the Madjapahit hierarchy, princes, priests, scholars, skilled artists and artisans, fleeing before the tide of Islam may perhaps account for the freshness and clarity of the tradition referring back to Hindu Javanese times. The names of King Erlangga, of the kingdom of Kadiri, of the holy man, Mpu Bharada, of the *patih* (minister), Gadjah Mada, of Madjapahit and its kings and princes are on the tongue of every child, though, indeed, the periods to which they refer are apt to be confused and the historical heroes merged or interchanged with the mythical figures of Arjuna and Rama. To the Balinese, his [197]

[4] Vlekke, 1943, pp. 410-412.

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heritage of Hinduism, whether it came to him directly or as a part of Hindu Javanese tradition, belongs to a sort of fairy tale level of his fantasy, and within the very active creative life of the people, these historical legendary figures continually reappear in the dramas, paintings, and decorative arts.

It will be seen by referring to the above table that the year 900 is the approximate date given to the so called Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan and that it was in the century immediately following this that the first close contact between Java and Bali was established. Now it is no accident that a figure of Durga from Prambanan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was used as a frontispiece in Keith's volume on Indian mythology in the series, *The Mythology of All Races* (see Pl. XI, *b*). This outstandingly beautiful piece, chosen to head the volume and to illustrate the attributes of the Hinduistic deity, is entitled as follows:

> Durga. The wife of Siva, in her dread aspect, slays the Asura Mahisa. Standing in an attitude of triumph on the demon, who, as his name implies, is in the shape of a buffalo, she drags his soul (symbolized in human form) from him. From a Javanese lava sculpture, probably from Prambanan, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[1]

Durga is here a graceful figure executed with great artistry and technical skill. The posture is rhythmically composed. One hip sways out, the torso swinging to the opposite side; one knee is gently flexed. The breasts are rounded, perfect. One is even able to accept her having six arms, two of them raised above her head, holding weapons, while in another hand she appears to hold the demon by the hair. Her face is impassive and mild, neither threatening nor smiling, though from the reproduction it seems that the mouth is partly open and the teeth visible. In stylization this piece is representative of the best period of Hindu Javanese carving. As a work of art, it is a quite satisfying rendering of "The Inaccessible."

It is always somewhat difficult for those of us brought up in the religious tradition of the gentle Christ to understand why it was that in Hinduism, the fierce and terrible aspect of the wife of Siva was played up rather than her softer side. Keith gives us an inkling of what Durga may have meant at that time when he explains her various names in the chapter of the work mentioned above entitled "The Great Gods of the Epic." He says

> Closely akin to Siva is his wife Uma, the younger daughter of Himavant, whose gift of her to Rudra cost him the loss of all his jewels through a curse of Bhrgu, the sage of the gods, who came too late to seek her in marriage. As "Daughter of the Mountain" she is also Parvati, and Gauri ("the Radiant White One"), and Durga ("the Inaccessible"). The fancy of the poet, how-

[1] Keith, 1917, frontispiece.

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weak" occurs with great frequency and alarmingly little critical evaluation. This set of ideas became current among Europeans writing about the area and was passed on from one to another, snowballing in apparent force but in effect becoming more and more distant from the indigenous thinking to which the ideas were referred. Except where the authors give a specific reference to the native term employed, all mention of "magic" forces, power, balance, and so on should be viewed with suspicion, and judgment held in reserve for the presentation of further evidence.

With this reservation, the[illegible]ve may concede that the quality attributed by the Balinese to such [illegible]s the ancient stone images and inscriptions, rendered by Stutterheim [illegible]nc power," is in the Balinese language called *sakti*—a term reminisc[illegible]e Polynesian *mana*, in that it connotes supernatural strength[illegible] course a Sanskrit term, translated by Dowson as "The wife [illegible]female energy of a deity, but especially of Siva."[11] *Sakti* in Bali mea[illegible] holy, sacred—dangerous, too, if not properly handled—but it has lost, at least on the overt level, the connotation of femaleness belonging to the Sanskrit term. How much of it remains at a deeper level, contributing to the character and the personification of Rangda, we may later on be in a better position to judge.

Returning to actual representations of Durga dating from historic times, we find three stone carvings of her in the same aspect as the one from the Javanese Prambanan reproduced by Keith. Two of these are attributed by Stutterheim to the Old Balinese period, tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a third to the Middle Balinese period, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] The first of these, Figure 27 of his *Oudheden van Bali*, is entitled *Durga Mahisasuramardini* and was found in the temple, Poera Kedarman, at Koetri (see Pl. XII, *a*.). The figure is elongated, swaying as in a dance, the left leg extended to an unusual length and in unusual tension, the torso bent from the pelvis towards the same side, the left; head and torso form a continuous, quite rigid line at an angle to the line of the extended leg. The body is definitely articulated at the hip, its weight supported by the right leg, which is, presumably, slightly flexed, though the stone is here rather badly damaged. Of the face, nothing can be made out. The multiple arms bear the various weapons, and the figure is clearly seen to be standing upon the demon buffalo (bull?). The whole figure gives an impression of tensile strength and has a distinctly original character. The style does not appear to be directly influenced by that of the early tenth century Hindu Javanese at Prambanan, and if it were not for the content, one would have

[11] Dowson, 1928, "Sakti."
[12] Stutterheim, 1930.

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193 [154] When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom."

He goes on to quote Stutterheim's statement that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he failed to persuade his father not to take another wife. And one of the chief motifs of the Rangda stories, reiterated and played out again and again by the Balinese, is the one that Covarrubias mentions—that nobody will marry the daughter of the witch. The story of the epidemic [154] she caused, how she went to the cemetery, dug out corpses, cut them to pieces, ate the members, drank the blood, and decked herself with entrails, all this is dwelt upon in the published version of *De Calon Arang* (*Tjalon arang*) taken from the palm leaf (*lontar*) books." Mpu Bharada, the holy man, figures as the adviser to Erlangga and the champion of right who matches his supernatural powers against those of Rangda.

195 Vlekke in his history of the whole archipelago speaks of this period also as one marked by cataclysms, heroic ventures, and dire events. The Javanese king, Dharmavamça, Erlangga's father-in-law, he speaks of as "the first historical person of the Indonesian islands of whom we have more than a dim vision."

> He ordered the codification of the Javanese laws and fostered the growth of Javanese literature. He had some of the old Sanskrit texts translated into Javanese . . . saw to it that a Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* was composed . . .
>
> Dharmavamça . . . knew how to combine diplomacy and warfare with cultural activity. Under his rule Javanese authority over Bali was established."

These factors in themselves would be sufficient to cause the celebration [193] of the period in Balinese legend and dramatic plays. The introduction of [199] the strange princess, with her unknown and mysteriously disturbing ways, her different speech and that of her court, the new cultural refinements of dance, dress, and posture, the fresh store of weird supernatural tales, all these must have made upon the relatively uncouth Balinese an impression which they continuously act out up to the present day.

Dharmavamça was not satisfied with extending his sway over Bali. He "forced a principality on the west coast of Borneo to recognize his overlordship." Then he set out to conquer Sumatra and to overthrow the Shrivijaya dynasty. Vlekke speaks of this last campaign:

" Covarrubias, 1937, p. 328.
" Poerbatjaraka, 1926.
" Vlekke, 1943, p. 30.

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the air, to draw the boundaries between the two parts. Countermagic hindered the completion of the monk's work, but the curse of division and eternal (sic) strife had been laid upon the country."

Wars, then, political strife, disunity, the division of the kingdom, the separation of Kadiri (Daha) and Djanggala (both names well known in Balinese theatre) form the background of events against which the legend of the Rangda has grown up. There is another factor of importance, on which Vlekke barely touches, but which must have been exceedingly conducive to the building up of all these reputations for supernatural power. That is the coexistence at that time in Java, and in Bali, of organized priesthoods serving the Buddhist and Sivaite faiths. Erlangga is said to have brought both priesthoods under government control "by appointing royal superintendants and by making the priests themselves royal officials."[14] One can imagine that during these times of division, conflicting loyalties, the introduction of foreign born princes and princesses into the courts must have been propitious for priestly intrigue and the matching of powers of holiness. Even today in Bali one can see a Sivaite and a Boda (Buddha) high priest practicing their very similar rituals a few feet away from each other at a great ceremonial; yet the followers of each high priest will tell tales of the outstanding power (*sakti*) of his priest, his strength of concentration and intense holiness.

It is a possibility, presented here only tentatively for lack of supporting evidence, that the masked figure of the Rangda was elaborated out of the Durga worship belonging to the Sivaite tradition, while that of the Barong developed in a parallel line from some form of the Buddhist worship. This hypothesis is not belied by the existence in China and in Japan of dragon masks, closely resembling the Balinese Barong in structure, function, and behavior---playing in the villages at New Year's, for example—for it might have been on a wave of Buddhism that the idea of the Barong reached all three countries. The lion-like mask, the body animated by two or more players, the function of the performance as an exorcism for the protection of the village, the giving of food and coins to him in return for his protection, these are common elements found in China and Japan as well. It is quite conceivable that the mask play, traveling with Buddhism, was diffused over this wide area (see Pl. X, a and b). The antagonism, then, of Rangda and Barong when they meet and match their supernatural powers in the Balinese play could contain the deeper

[14] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[15] *Ibid.*

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symbolic meaning of the rivalry of the Sivaite faith with the earlier entrenched Buddhism.

An alternative hypothesis for the origin of the Barong is that he came to Bali from China, a purely Chinese cultural form, a Chinese dragon in fact, who runs around the town at New Year's time and clears space of evil influence.[*] That this play with the mask and the multiple actors under the coat is a readily transmitted cultural form is attested to by his presence in New York City at the present time—the Chinese have brought him here, and he plays to a large and enthusiastic crowd every Chinese New Year. Money and food are given him in return for his protection, though he is terrifying and in order to present to him a cabbage the offerer impales it on the end of a long stick. Such a figure can travel, then, there can be no doubt. And we know that contact between Indonesia and China was established in Han times.

A Japanese student of anthropology in New York, after seeing films of the Balinese Barong, spontaneously remarked that in his village in Japan during his childhood such a mask dragon would come every year at New Year's season. It was called Chi Chi Mai and given money and food as offerings and played as a protection against evil. The only difference was, he said, that sometimes there was only one player.

The writer collected in Japan such a wooden mask, said to date from the eighteenth century (see Plate IX). In all its characteristic features, the bulging eyes, the great jowls, the hinged jaws with the hand hold for snapping them, it is clearly a very close relative of the Balinese Barong. Another specimen, also collected in Japan, is of wood covered with red lacquer. It is somewhat different in style and is said to date from the nineteenth century. It is not impossible that these masks and their ceremonial function entered China and Japan as a part of the Buddhist tradition. The form remained relatively frozen in Japan, as did other cultural items taken over from China; but in China itself and in the places to which Chinese have emigrated the mask is now made of papier mâché, renewable at each New Year's time, not cherished as a sacred object but kept alive only in the tradition.

In the past few years anthropologists have come to the realization that it is not sufficient to explain the presence of a myth figure by reference to culture contacts of the past. A myth to be entertained at all, must be integral to the culture at the time level under scrutiny. It is not enough to show that,

[*] Cf. Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188: "The Dragon can mark out areas which are safe from witchcraft . . . and also he can mark out stretches of time, e.g., by opening and terminating the Witch play."

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by means of cultural diffusion, a given people were exposed to a given set of ethological constructs in the ethological make up of a neighboring people. Elements under such exposure do not always "take." And if they do take, they are likely to be transformed and refurbished according to the prevailing feeling in the receiving culture. An inner congruence exists within a culture at any point in time, an equilibrium between the various elements which compose it, such that, if any element is added or drops into oblivion, it reflects upon the total culture at that time. And if a single religious concept, myth figure, or fairy tale is accepted from without or independently evolved, the whole culture is to that extent modified. Children are brought up on these tales; parents' attitudes are modified in concordance with the current belief. They warn, shield, console, and threaten the young with the mythological and religious figures in mind. Fear and fantasy in the adult are communicated to the child in a thousand subtle ways, in the tone of voice in which a father speaks, in the [illegible] of a mother's eye, or in the shiver that runs down her spine as she holds the child in her arms. There is a channeling of feeling which runs out of the realm of fantasy into that of reality, so that the whole culture expresses this feeling not only in the formation of the individuals who make it up, but in its ordering of day to day behavior, its method of economy, its patterned exchanges, and its ceremonial and secular ritual. Kardiner has stated this point as follows:

> The value of the whole genetic approach lies in its being able to show us how certain integrational systems come into being; and we made it our special concern to track down those systems we designated as projective, in contrast to those of taught or rational origin on the basis of which scientific systems are built. In every society studied we found evidences of these two systems. The empirical reality systems we found in the manipulation and making of tools, the knowledge of planting, and so forth; the projective systems in religion, folklore, and many other systems.
>
> These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend on any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experiential base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called *symbolic extension*."

" Kardiner, 1945, pp. 38-39.

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the *rajă* (*mamadă rajă dalĕm*) to have children in this way.

But Sukawană is a Bali-agă village, where the Hindu religion has never quite penetrated, where no high caste people have ever lived, and every man is born the equal of his fellow. I Lèwèr, the father of the Sukawană twins, said he was pleased when they were born, as a father always is to get a child. But his pleasure was offset and counterbalanced by the great trouble of their being boy and girl, for that meant a big expense to him. At the *mĕcharu* for the purification of the village he must provide a *kĕbo* (water-buffalo), a calf, and a pig to be sacrificed. The many offerings which must be made, the quantities of rice and coconuts and fowls would be at his expense, except for the contributions of his fellow-members in the Balé Agung. The village law decrees that each man must help the poor (*lachur*) father with gifts according to his means, but all that is not given falls to the share of the father, and he alone is responsible for the complete array of the offerings. I Lèwèr also loses his house, already torn down, for at the end of the forty-two days the *kubu* constructed from its materials must be burned to the ground. And all his possessions, his mats, his clothes, and those of his wife, must be burned also, or cast away into the river, so that nothing may remain which has been connected with the uncleanness of the birth of the twins.

But I Lèwèr was not ashamed. He said: "I am troubled (*sĕbĕt*), but I am not ashamed (*lĕk*)". He knew only that the big ceremony must take place to avert disaster from the village. He opened his eyes wide with surprise when we asked if he had heard that this was the Rajă's way to have children. "No", he answered, "I have never heard it".

We asked if people say that the twins are already married in the womb of the mother. I Lèwèr answered, "I do not know". And the old men sitting by said: "How can they, they are so small!"

But it was known in the village that if both children survived, they might, if they so wished when they grew up, marry each other.

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each locality, itself the child of an incestuous union of brother and sister). We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him" [1]). Such a belief, although not directly related to that found in Bali, is interesting in the suggestion which it offers of a perhaps similarly primitive belief existing in the primitive Bali, which might have been later overlayed by the Hindu concepts. If this were true all twins would originally have been objects of superstition. Yet most intelligent Balinese attribute the taboo directly to Hindu-Javanese influence. The lontars definitely state that "it is an affront to the king — *mamadă Rajă Dalĕm*". But much evidence points to an earlier fear of twins. Why do we find in four old-style Bali-agă villages twins of like sex considered bad, and only in one Hinduized village, where the special reason of twin ancestor gods exists to explain the unusual taboo? (Kĕtèwèl, see p. 528). Why are there bizarre elaborations of the rite in old villages? [2]) Why

[1]) Moss, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 273.

[2]) Such elaborations, for instance, as thrice burning the *kubu*, and the use of the *pusuh* as a substitute for the dead twin in Sukawană. Also, in a case of twins recently in Sĕlulung, the following rite, which was witnessed and related to me by Walter Spies: A *pusuh* was again used as substitute for one of the twins which had died, and when the crowd of villagers went down to the river not only the *pusuh* but the mother and the father and the remaining twin were cast into the stream (*anyudang*). This took place at a *champuh*, or meeting of rivers, and a dam had been constructed across the stream just below where the two rivers came together. The father, the mother holding the child, the *pusuh*, with various *cholong's*, coconuts, etc., were cast in the water above the dam, and then the dam was broken up, so that with a rush of water all were carried some little way downstream. Below this were stationed some fifteen men armed with spears, who with much shouting and excitement tried to pierce the *cholong's* and coconuts as they swept past.

Still another barbaric custom is that prescribed in Tĕnganan, when, after the parents of twins have been driven out of the village, their house is stoned by the villagers. See Dr. KORN's transcription of the *Awig-awig Désă* in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort 1933, p. 245.

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are the offerings in the villages greater where Hindu influence is less? Why do the clever Hindu priests find in their lontars excuses for avoiding the taboos, based on hair-splitting differences in the birth — was the boy born first or the girl, were there two placentas or one, which child 'brought the placenta', at how great an interval of time were the children born [1]) — all differences unknown to the ordinary Jabă and rarely relied upon to squeeze out of the trouble of *manak salah*? Does it not look as if the true Balinese concept is that such twins are a bad thing, and the newly arrived Hindu-Javanese rulers simply claimed their right to have such children honoured in the royal and priestly families? Rather than attempt to destroy the established popular superstition about twins, they would have at first only denied any evil pertaining to their own twins, then propounded the belief that this was their own special way to have children (especially a boy and a girl together), finally strengthening their own position by stating that the commoners affronted the Rajă when they dared to have children in his privileged way. Eventually the popular superstition about boy and girl twins would have been reinforced by the royal prescription, and the superstition about twins of like sex would tend to die out. Of course even in the primitive belief boy and girl twins must have been the more terrifying sort, on account of the obvious incestuous connotation which could not but offend against the marriage laws, whatever they were. Therefore it would be easier for this taboo to survive than that on twin brothers or twin sisters. Meanwhile the royal and priestly families were taking wives from among the commoners, producing children of Satryă and Brahman caste who yet were not sufficiently well-born to escape being 'wrong' if they or their descendants happened to have boy and girl twins. These people, we must suppose, the small nobility, appealed to the priests to clear them of the wrong. For they, on account of their caste, were brought up in

[1]) See below excerpts from the Tabanan lontar, p. 534.

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the Hindu tradition. Probably it was for their benefit that the priests evolved the complicated differences in the birth of twins, whether there were two placentas or only one, whether the boy was born first, etc., and posited that only in one special combination of conditions could the offending parents be said to 'affront the Rajă'. Even on these points the priestly authorities do not agree, so that even more leeway is afforded by their varying doctrines. Theoretically a man could go from authority to authority seeking one whose version would absolve him from his wrong. In Pĕliatan the question came up in the case of twins whether the village should follow the dictates of the Padandă Bodă, who said that three *galungan's* could not be celebrated after the birth, or the words of the Padandă Siwă, who said that the *galungan* immediately following the purification might be celebrated. In Sanur where there are twenty-one Padandă's, the scope of opinions is infinite. But the ordinary Jabă, unaccustomed as he remains to Hindu thought, rarely appeals to the priest for an excuse to escape his dilemma.

Perhaps it should be explained that all investigations which touch upon the religion of Bali are hampered and obscured by the confused background of the people, about which very little is definitely known. The only histories are genealogies kept by the various royal families, which do not agree with each other, which "have holes in them and do not join" as one Balinese put it, and whose very names for the kings cannot be identified with the kings of the tales and legends kept alive in the minds of the people. If one tries to sift out what part of a rite or custom is of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin, and what part Old Indonesian, one gets into difficulties — for not only is every village different from every other village in Bali, but no purely Hindu village or household exists, and probably no Bali-agă village exists which has not been at some time and in some way influenced by Hindu custom. The great body of the religion of Bali seems to be ancestor worship, combined with a certain amount of animism in

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the worship of Mountain, Lake and Sea gods – the whole overlayed with a coating of Hinduism differing in profundity. Where Hindu influence has been greater Hindu thought and terminology is more widespread, even among the "ignorant outsiders", the Jabă. In other places the old-style seems to have resisted the religious persuasion of the conquerors, to such an extent that even today the inhabitants refuse to tell the name of their gods, to let them be seen by strangers, even in some temples Hindu Padandă's are refused admittance. Yet the scholars and thinkers are chiefly Hindu priests and Hindu-caste princes, who are ready to explain every act of the people in a Hindu way – and these thinkers are the only ones of the Balinese able to give reasons. The simple man says "That is the way it is done" or "That is the way the old men tell" or "That is the way my father taught me". The great mass of the Balinese behave according to tradition, without question and without need for explanatory thought. And if one listens to the Hindu-thinking Balinese, who has always a rational-sounding answer, one has little assurance that his answer actually reflects the cause or true content of the commoner's behavior. To give an example: the *sanggah kamulan*, perhaps the chief shrine of the household temple, is found all over Bali. It has a characteristic form, with three doors. Nine out of ten simple Balinese will tell you, when asked the name of the god whose shrine it is, that they do not know any name for the god. If asked what '*sanggah kamulan*' means, they will answer that it means the 'place of the fore-father', the founder of the family. They cannot tell why it has three doors. Yet the tenth man, of Hindu caste, or trained or tinged with Hindu thought, will answer: "It is for Batară Guru", or "for Siwă", or "for Brahmă-Siwă-Wisnu, the Trimurti". If you insist, and ask why others say the shrine is for their ancestor this man will say: "Yes, that is true, for Siwă is the First Ancestor of all men, it was Siwă who made all men". And yet even a Padandă told, when a question came up of installing figures of the gods in the *sanggah kamulan*, that the figure of only one god with his

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wife, either Siwă or Wisnu, could be placed there. He said that to place Brahmă, Siwă and Wisnu, with or without their wives, behind the three doors, was impossible. I never heard a satisfactory explanation of the three doors, which appear to be such an obviously Hindu form. Yet the *sanggah kamulan* is unquestionably the shrine of the ancestor in each individual household, and has nothing to do with Siwă in the minds of the householders to whom each shrine belongs, and who give offerings there.

Besides the difficulty of receiving Hindu-thought explanations for customs probably of non-Hindu origin, one has to remember that certain Hindu rites may have been taken over into the laws of the old Bali-agă villages as magic or medecine considered efficacious against misfortune. As in Sukawană, where the worship of the gods is in the hands of the villagers and their Council of Elders as priests, a Balian exists who performs certain ceremonies outside the temples, and the Sĕngguhu is called in from another village for *mĕcharu*. In Trunyan, known to be so strong in its old organization and strict in its religion, a Padandă from Bangli, we were told, must be called for the *mĕcharu* following the birth of *kembar banching* twins. And in Taro a Padandă must officiate with the Sĕngguhu. In Tĕnganan, according to Dr. Korn, the ceremony must be carried out with holy water from the Padandă Siwă-Bodă. The presence of these Hindu practices in non-Hindu villages does not prove that the whole twin-purification ceremony is of Hindu origin, but may be due to the magical power ascribed to Hindu ritual by the villagers, so that they believe the presence of the Hindu priest or the use of holy water prepared by him will reinforce their own ways of driving off the disasters. As will be seen, the custom of banishment, and certain more barbaric rites for multiple births than were performed in Sukawană, mentioned in some of the lontars, have much in common with the old incest ritual of some of these villages.

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admitted that their rules were obsolete, "for tigers are now too hard to find. The rhinoceros, they said, must have come from Java (which means to the Balinese any country outside of Bali), for it has never been known in Bali.

After the naming of the various sorts of *charu's* the Tonjă lontar straightway gives a *mantră* or prayer to the *kală bută*, the demons. This, with the *mantră* to Siwă which comes at the end, the Sĕngguhu was unwilling to read out, whether from ignorance of the old language or from fear of the consequences should the magic words be sounded under inappropriate circumstances, I was unable to discover. The lontar is considered very sacred, and offerings had to be made before it could be 'opened'. After the prayer to the demons, the lontar continues:

"This is the law for wrong birth, *bunching kĕmbar* female-male, they must be banished by the villagers to the big crossroads for forty-two days, they must pay for the set of offerings. The offerings are given at the Balé Agung to purify the country, offered to all the gods. The gods are placed on the Balé Panjang (the Balé Agung, here denoting the long platform, to distinguish it from the temple which is called after it Pură Balé Agung). All the Pĕmangkus are called. All the people must make offerings to all the gods in the temples *dĕsa* (= Balé Agung), *dalĕm, puseh, pĕnataran, mĕlanting ring pasar* (the market.) When the gods come out, an uncastrated pig must be sacrificed before the big inner gate of the temple.

"This is the story if anyone has twins born *bunching kĕmbar*, exactly as these letters have given it. If anyone does not follow it he will have twins *bunching* again. Beware lest he have them three times."

A *mantră* to Siwă ends the lontar.

The Balinese, as a people in great part illiterate, have an exaggerated respect for the written word. They take the lontars most seriously, considering the prescriptions voiced in them to be as law — a law sometimes obsolete, obscure, unexplainable, but still holding in its content the right way. This in spite of the many disparities which, as

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a group together. When a group of men who are strangers are passing through a village, they may take shelter for the night in the men's communal pavilion which stands by the roadside—an unprotected place. They curl up as close as possible to each other, like young puppies, the body of one curving around that of his neighbor, with often an arm or a leg thrown over him. A group may be so compact that if one turns over the whole group must turn. The language contains terms for light and heavy sleepers, but as a rule they sleep soundly and are hard to rouse. They are afraid to awaken each other, lest the soul of the sleeper be wandering. But the taboo seems to imply more danger to the one doing the awakening than the one awakened, for a boy who says "I do not dare to wake him" will show no objection if a foreigner takes upon himself the responsibility of awakening one of his fellows.

As has been mentioned, a man may not touch a woman, even his wife, before others. He may not touch a woman's clothes, nor should his clothes touch hers, as, for instance, in a trunk. If it is necessary to pack them together, the man's clothes must be on top. But in the privacy supplied by darkness the taboos are lifted. Lovers and married people may caress each other freely. Favorite caresses are the *tjioem,* the affectionate or passionate "sniff" which replaces our kiss, and the *saling ngaras,* "exchange of strokings," a term applied to the rubbing of cheek on cheek, both slowly turning their heads from side to side, so that the lips do come into play as they brush past each other. Love-scenes depicted in the paintings, and described in the literature, suggest that many of the refinements of the art of love which belong to Hindu tradition have been taken over by the Balinese. But for reasons of their own, which have already been made sufficiently clear, the Balinese do not use the reversed posture, nor may the woman be above. In sexual play only the left hand may be used, since the right is used for eating.

A woman is popularly supposed to have within her a *manik.* The term *manik* is applied to jewels, and to a sprite which sits in coconut trees, and is pursued by Kilap Krèbèk Geroedoeg, Thunder-and-Lightning, who, when he catches the *manik,* causes the coconut tree to be burnt up. But the *manik* in a woman is of a different sort. In sexual intercourse her *manik* is repeatedly "hit," and this contact causes it to become larger and larger until it becomes a child. After the birth of the child, she gets a new *manik.* It is possible, though by no means sure, that the Balinese conceive orgasm of both man

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*783 778 Mostly it is only the *lis isuh-isuh* or *lis tegtēg* that is used for sprinkling the holy water, but occasionally a second *lis* is also used. Although serving the same function as the *lis isuh-isuh*, this second *lis* is of a completely different form and is designated by another name. It is the *lis sanjata* formed from the symbols of the *nawa sanga* the 'weapons' or emblems of the gods.

In addition, there is the *pēbuhu*[2], a *lis isuh-isuh* in miniature, but comprising only certain of the features of the *lis isuh-isuh*[3]. The *(pe)buhu* is included amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*, ritual objects on the high platform from which the *padanda* (Brahman priest) officiates.

Structure of the lis isuh-isuh

*783 778 532 285 Some forty odd features are incorporated in the design of the *lis*, some being forms cut out of palm leaf, others being woven or plaited from palm leaf strips. To watch the making of a *lis* is to witness a wonder of artistic skill. The fact that almost all the offerings are designated by terms that are etymologically old led Goris to conclude that this art was an indigenous cultural element of great antiquity[4]. In general I find it possible to agree with that opinion, although this art would have been also applied to the making of offerings which expressed concepts absorbed from alien culture patterns. The symbols of the *nawa sanga* are an eloquent example of the absorption of external cultural influences. It is sometimes possible to trace a Hindu influence even where a purely Balinese term is used to designate an offering. This point must not be overlooked. It is significant that the *tukang bantēn*, the woman who prepares the offerings, is usually the daughter of a Brahman priest. If this was the custom in past centuries it is obvious how new motifs could have been introduced into the traditional art of making offerings.

[177]

The actual making of the offerings was demonstrated to me by a *pēdanda's* daughter, who had learnt the art from her mother, an ordained priestess, and who earns her livelihood as *tukang bantēn* at temple festivals and ceremonies in the houses of the nobility.

[463]

To cut out the required shapes from the young palm leaf she used a large kitchen knife, each movement of the knife being away from her. The leaves fashioned to represent limbs were also partly plaited into the required forms.

The drawings accompanying this article were made by Ida Bagus Anom, a professional artist at Ubud and a Brahman by birth but not ordained, from parts of the *lis* prepared by his sister-in-law, who is also a Brahman.

[2] Cf. Swellengrebel, op cit.

[3] These components are *lawat bwah* (13), *lawat nyuh* (14), *lilit linting* (15), *jahan sasapi* (19), and *sapuh* (23), the *sapuh* being duplicated.

[4] R. Goris and P. L. Dronkers, *Bali*, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1953?

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

ambèngan), 7 grass stalks (*munchuk padang lipas*), 7 tufts of cotton from the *rèmbiga* plant (*kapuk mèduri*) bound round with the white-black-red thread of the gods (*bènang tri datu*).

29 *kakurungan* cage, in which the offering maker places a *kukur*, the figure of a dove. Sometimes this cage is not made and then the dove is placed in the *lis*.

30 *tulung* a pattern of three, four or five equally spaced rings of leaves, one on top of the other. I was unable to establish the meaning of the word *tulung*.

31 *lad sumbah* This component could be called an adoration symbol. The meaning of the word *lad* is here not understandable. The figure is an intricately cut out pattern comprising
tlapakan footsole,
kuku nails,
batis foot,
lad ? and
sumbah posture of obeisance, the *sumbah* being expressed by a leaf so folded as to suggest hands placed together before the face.

32 *kuku n kambing* goat's hoof. As a component of the *lis asah asah* it is made from a whole *busung*; as a component of the *lis sanjata* it is made from strips of leaf folded into a pentagonal shape about one inch thick (not illustrated).

It need hardly be pointed out that from village to village there are endless variations on the same basic pattern.

These 32 components, topped by the finely cut strips of palm leaf constitute the *lis* as a holy water sprinkler. The only addition required is two Chinese coins, designated as *buah* (fruit) which are tied on to it.

The *lis* must now be completed as an offering. The nimble fingers of the offering maker begin weaving the *tipats* in which the glutinous rice is cooked and kept when prepared. These are called

33 *tipat tulud* named by analogy with the *tulud*, an oblong piece of wood with a handle attached that is used for sweeping away refuse. This form is also employed for the similarly named offering made of dough, in both instances to symbolize the banishment of the forces of evil. In some villages a tuft of the 'hair' of the *lis* is placed in the *tipat tulud* after the ceremonial cutting of the hair. In other villages food is placed in this *tipat*. Both the *tipat tulud* and the *tipat pusuh* are cut open during the ceremony of the consecration of the *lis* preceding the actual sprinkling of the holy water with the *lis*. This ceremony will be described later.

34 *tipat pusuh* navel *tipat*, round shaped.

Next the components forming the belly are bound together and then those components which are *mamata* (with a face). The thick bundle

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

This feature of the two *dapdap* branches linked by a thread that is later broken occurs also in the marriage ceremony which, like the *padusan*, is a lustration ceremony. The marriage ritual comes within the category of ceremonies performed for personal well-being and is consequently listed in the Balinese religious manuals amongst the *mānusa yadnya* (ceremonies of offerings for mankind) [15].

As with numerous other ceremonies of this category, the *nĕlu bulanin*, for example, the marriage ritual can be divided into two phases. The first phase, which I would define as an *adat* marriage ceremony, is conducted by a *pemangku* even when a *pedanda* is also present to prepare the holy water and to present the offerings to the gods.

The *adat* phase is generally regarded as a *pelukatan*, a lustration ceremony removing all impurity. In the villages it is only after the completion of this *adat* phase that the ritual bath of the bridal pair takes place. Following this the bride and bridegroom dress in their nuptial attire so that they might do homage to the gods.

During the bridal procession the white thread joining the two *dapdap* branches is broken by an old woman who walks in front. It is my opinion that the *adat* phase of the marriage ceremony is more ancient than the ceremony of preparation of holy water in the temple by a Brahman priest. I imagine that when this 'Hindu-Javanese' elaboration was added to the lustration ritual, the practice was also adopted of presenting to the gods a performance of the similarly Hindu Javanese puppet show, while the concluding act of the original ritual, the breaking of the thread between the *dapdap* branches, an ancient and essential element of the lustration ritual, was retained.

The inseparable association of the performance of the *wayang lĕmah* with the simultaneous preparation of holy water by a *pedanda* is quite obvious when the actual ritual is observed. The tinkle of the *pedanda's* bell is scarcely audible above the hoarse shouting of the *dalang* and the music of the four instruments played as an accompaniment.[16]

In order to simplify the listing the *ètèh-ètèh* are divided into two groups

Group I (1–40) miniature replicas of agricultural implements and domestic utensils, some of wood or bamboo, made specially for the occasion, and others, of earthenware, bought in the market.

[15] A mimeographed transliteration of a text entitled *Mānuṣa Yadña*, 26 pp. was recently issued by the Dinas Agama Otonoom Daérah Bali. This text was compiled by the Pedanda Gdé Buda, Njoman Djlantik, of Buda Kling, Karang Asĕm.

[16] It does happen that a *wayang lĕmah* performance may be given instead of a *wayang pĕtĕng* at a ceremony in a village – at a teeth-filling ceremony, for example – when the head of the family concerned has pledged himself to meet the costs of a *wayang* performance but has not sufficient money to pay for the more expensive night performance.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Ball OF7

38 *kĕrĕm* brazier (an essential item).
39 *pĕlita* oil lamp with a single spout for one wick
40 *lumbung* or *jinĕng* rice barn; also an offering at the *ma-gedong-gedong* ceremony, but made of palm leaf and much larger.

The following items, which make up the second group, are cult objects and replicas of offerings and are all made in terracotta.

41 *panjĕnĕng* an offering that is cited in all *pamangku* manuals and always in association with *pras* (No 53). It is also made from palm leaf and from dough, and sometimes formed from a number of Chinese coins tied together. The *panjĕnĕng* often includes the purificatory materials listed under No 47 and No 48.
42 *kuwak* or *tuwak* palmwine, used with libation offerings (Cf No 65), and is also made in dough.
43 *pasĕpan* round, undecorated brazier, on which is placed a decorated *kĕkĕb* (No 35).
44 *papijitan* square-shaped, undecorated bowl with a round base containing massage lotions for the gods. On the inner surface is inscribed a V-shaped marking which also occurs in No 56 over a lotus design, and again in No 61.
45 *kĕladi* edible root, which, according to my informant, is included as a component of the offering *'apang dadi'* 'so that it may succeed'. This item and *ubi*, (No 70) are replicas, but the actual roots are also used as offerings (Cf infra *salaran*). At the beginning of the rice planting the *kĕladi* is planted as an offering together with *kunir* (curcuma), an addition explained by the phonetic association with *kuning*, yellow. Characteristically Indonesian, this process of association by phonetic analogy is perhaps best known from the examples occurring in the Malay *pantuns*[20].
46 *panyĕmbĕyan* an upright lamp with two arms and with a drip-tray at the base.
47 *pabrĕsihan* three substances for the toilet of the gods,
48 *pabrĕsihan* five substances for the toilet of the gods
tĕpung tawar finely chopped *dapdap* leaves,
sĕsarik biji kuning yellow-dyed rice grains,
minyak (fragrant) oil,
isuh-isuh unguent,
asĕm tamarind.
Offerings of water perfumed with flowers, eyeblack, toothpaste, powder, etc., are also presented to the gods.
49 *chĕlĕngan* money box of the most simple form.
50 *tangkur iga* breast bone with ribs (on both sides).
51 *tangkur iga* breast bone with ribs on one side only. (Cf. sub *lis* No 1 and No 2).

[20] Cf. Dr. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleise Literatuur*, Brill, Leiden, 1947.

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5

B 833 428 [177 643] [105 cont.] the income of the prince. With the disappearance of royal rule on Bali and Lombok, this evil, the so-called mandjing system, came to an end.

B 586 692 Divorce is possible on Bali, either by unilateral repudiation on the part of the man or by mutual agreement. The divorce decree can also be promulgated by the native court, the council of Kerta.

B 583 A special feature of Balinese marriage is that the bride price, which is usually very large, is actually paid only in exceptional cases; this form of marriage is called mepadik. More commonly the girl is abducted; this abduction, which takes place with the prior knowledge of the girl and her parents, is called merangkat and serves as an escape from all the formalities and heavy payments involved in a bride price marriage. A sacrificial repast is sufficient atonement for the offense against the adat and to avert any possible evil consequences. If the father is recalcitrant, it appears that bride price has to be paid, but in this case it is a smaller one. A bride price four times as high as the normal one has to be paid after a melegandang, an abduction against the will of the girl. Apart from that, the young man must flee with the girl to another village and stay there in hiding for a time. Formerly, the members of the girl's family were even allowed to kill the young man if they caught him within a certain period of time.

B [689 671] [681]

J 101 174 J 621 J 592 596 J 621 e. Java. We are now approaching Java, the island where, for many reasons, native society is most highly developed (seen, that is, from our Western point of view), and therefore the only jurisdictional communities, except for the independent, native associations, the dèsa, are territorial units. The household [gezin, household or nuclear family] is of great importance, as it is everywhere, but it is not a jurisdictional community, nor is the family [familie], the larger group of relatives. Indeed, in contrast with the situation in so many areas of the Outer Provinces, the family has little significance among the Javanese. Of much greater importance for [106] the Javanese is the dèsa, the native community

Bali OF7
Borneo OC1

I
X779 [229 cont.] the rulers over the whole island, or the greater part of it. In the ninth century there were great migrations from Java to Bali, and in the thirteenth century a Javanese prince sent administrators to Bali to reform the Javanese rural communities and other institutions on the Hindu-Javanese model. The Hindu-Javanese element on Bali was greatly reinforced at the end of the fifteenth century after the fall of Majapahit. After that Java very quickly became Islamized, which caused a split between this island and Bali.

Ba
[174
177] On Bali, therefore, one finds a continuation of the Hindu-Javanese society of the Middle Ages, but with its own character and free of foreign influences, with cremation (formerly also sutteeism), the caste system, and Brahamic and (less numerous) Buddhist priests. In these respects and partly also in the administration of justice, Balinese society, as well as that of the western part of Lombok, which is inhabited by Balinese, can be considered Hindu in character. The religion can also be called Hinduism insofar as the priests and the notables are concerned; the people themselves have retained much of their original animism. The descendants of the oldest inhabitants of the country, those who were not in former centuries converted to Hinduism, are called Bali-aga, in [230] contrast to the Hindu-Balinese, who call themselves wòng Madjapahit, "people of Majapahit."

Bo
[174
175] Probably only Borneo among the other islands of the archipelago was visited directly from India, if this can be deduced from the fact that inscriptions found in Moeara Kaman in Kutai (southern and eastern division of Borneo) date, according to Professor Kern, from around the year 400 A.D., judging from the alphabetical writing. These inscriptions from King Moelawarman are found on four stone sacrificial posts. Higher up on the Mahakam, in a cave in the Kombeng, twelve sandstone images, among others, were found. There are no historical data concerning this colonization, however, and nothing is known about it or about that on other islands where Hindu relics have been found.

Aru OH5
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Atjehnese OD4
Minang Kabau OD10

Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Sumba OF17
Flores OF9
Babar OF6

I 325 [567 cont.] this, especially in the archipelago, and that it also exists in the native languages. One speaks of yellow and red copper, but one should speak of brass, that is, an alloy of copper and zinc, and copper. Copper is mixed with zinc only because the pure metal is too soft to be durable and is very difficult to cast (2).

2. Loebèr, op. cit., p. 45.

I 301 174 S Br Bt F Bb Ar 301 Bl 301 ● 177 I 301

The oldest use of brass in the archipelago was probably in arm and ankle rings, both in spiral form and in the curved ring form with the ends slanting down. The Batak, Dajak, and Sumba women, as well as women from Flores and the Babar and Aru Islands, adorn themselves with them. They are also found on Bali, although they are gradually disappearing because of the importation of cheap and more expensive jewelry from Europe.

It is said that prominent women in the interior wear 12 to 15 brass rings, which weigh several kilograms (3).

3. Loebèr, op. cit., p. 7.

At M J 325

The brass foundries of Java and Sumatra (Padang Highlands, Atjeh, and the Batak lands) are the best known. On Java, kettles, basins, cuspidors, trays, dishes, betel boxes, and clasps are cast.

[568] There is very little modeling; it is limited to the casting of fruit models or an occasional bird form for wajang lamps. Actual artistry is expressed almost exclusively in the chasing on the cast and polished work. The handsomer the surface on which the chasing is done, the finer are the figures on it. In this connection, the work done to order in recent years is greatly inferior to the former art. [Illustration appears here.] The cast work itself is also very inferior in comparison with that of the old Hindu days.

I [177]

Bali OF7
Malays AN5
Sumatra OD1

BI [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

BI [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

BI One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
●177

BI The tjĕndĕla = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
564 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
164 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
558 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
MI marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
643 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with
565 Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
MI descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangéran,
S raden, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
[651 or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at
642]

Malays AN5
Gorontalo OG4
Manobo OA28

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Ngadju OC9
Celebes OG1
Batak OD5

J 776 [555 cont.]

In general the Javanese uses hjang to indicate all the spirits that I Bl Ng C Bt Ml he worships. Formerly, however, it exclusively meant "god," as is still the case on Bali. From Java the word went to Borneo, where we find it among the Olo Ngadju in the form sangiang as the designation for sylphs, good spirits, to Celebes, where we again find it used for good spirits as sangijang -- reminding one of sangiyang sarri -- and to Sumatra, where it is used among the J 776 Batak as Sanyang naga for good, female water-spirits. Other 177 174 words for spirits that are generally widespread were borrowed from Sanskrit or from Arabic. We shall mention some of the most common ones. The Sanskrit devatâ appears in many different forms. It means divinity in Sanskrit. It occurs in the archipelago with this meaning among the Malays, Javanese, Dajak, and Batak. The Malays pronounce it as dewata, the Javanese as dewata, djawata, and djuwata, the Batak as debata. The gods taken over from the Hindus are chiefly meant by it. Among the Dajak of the southeastern division the word is contracted to djata, by which the kind of spirits that principally live in rivers are understood, whereas the Bisayans designate the souls of their deceased with it.

G Mb Bl J Bt 776 The word diuata appears among the Manobo as the name for the harvest god, and the Bantiks and the Bolaang Mongodou know him as ompu duata. Besides the word dewata, batara is very widespread. Its basic meaning is god, especially as the name for the supreme god. Furthermore, the Sanskrit bhûta = spirit, good and bad, is found among all the peoples of the archipelago. Among the Balinese, [556] for example, buta are evil spirits, and also among the Javanese. The Batak use it to indicate the spirits that they believe live in the village streets. The Malayan djin and sjaithan as designations for evil spirits also occur frequently.

I 769 775 In connection with the above, we now want to discuss briefly what characterizes the worship of the spirits and the souls of the deceased. We know that in spiritism the souls are worshiped as disembodied. This does not alter the fact, however, that the souls of the deceased as well as the spirits are popularly

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia OBl
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Ambon OH4
BQ
I
J576

He gives a "law book" (undang undang in Malay, nawala in Javanese) of native or foreign origin to his courts for guidance. A later legislative development, mostly under Western influence, is the redaction of a portion of written adat law (pranata in Java, peswara in Bali); but it seems to develop only in the villages of Ambon and Bali. The Javanese village ordinances are merely administrative forms.

The prince is the religious head, as well. He allows the chief religious officials, the head of the mosque in the capital city, to regulate religious affairs and to administer justice in some matters. Inferior judges operate under the central temporal and religious judiciary elsewhere within the principality. These judicial administrators are of more importance for the city dwellers and officials than for the citizens of the outlying communities.

In spite of its separateness, however, the royal sphere is nevertheless linked to the peoples' world. The prince is descended from the mythical culture hero of the people. The magical import of the state ornaments is believed by all the people, high and low. The feasts and festivals with their free distribution of food strengthen the unity of prince and people in a manner that is essential and effective for both parties. Inter-communal squabbles and disputes, which threaten to lead to war between villages, are appealed to the prince, whose decision is accepted. In order to fulfil this function, the prince is repeatedly called into the country as arbiter. In contrast to this, however, the princely administration is quite definitely shut out of intro-village affairs, probably to prevent a royal displacement of local autonomy. Yet any little man can individually break through all bounds, and clad in white, can evoke the highest justice from the prince himself. Also, a group of people can appear before the prince to lodge a mass complaint against injustice. A further strengthening of the bonds through kinship between princely nobility and the people is effected by the noble practice of taking concubines from among the commoners.

Moreover, the prince permits the communities to direct their own legal life. The most important point of official contact is in the levy in money, kind, and services. Royal levies are frequently merged in the adat law obligations of a citizenry in the rendering of mutual aid to their local chiefs (see page 132) and carried out in the name of these local obligations. In the taking of levies, the chiefs are the intermediary between prince and people. Forced labor is a common practice, as is the occurrence of regal demands, which have no roots in the folk-ways. Particularly, when the officials were

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Savu OF15 Java OE1
Sumba OF17 Bali OF7

I B2 J 625 621 423 [177] I 423

benefit has given direct impetus to the rise of native principalities in Bali and Indragiri.

8. *Legislative ignoring of the right of disposal.*—Failure to recognize the right of disposal in Dutch legislation has resulted in considerable unnecessary contradictions.

9. *Terminology.*—It rarely seems to have occured to Indonesians to coin a term for the right of disposal; at any rate, few languages in Indonesia have a specific word for the concept. But the area of disposal as such is always identified by some definite term. This term may give expression to the area of disposal as a possession (patuanan, in Ambon), as a food-producing area (panyampeto, in Borneo), as a demarked territory (pawatasan in Borneo, wewengkon in Java, and prabumian in Bali), or as land forbidden to outsiders (totabuan in Bolaang Mongondow). Various other terms are also known to exist, as for instance, "torluk" in Angkola, "limpo" in South Celebes, "nuru" in Buru, "payar" in Bali, "paér" in Lombok, and "ulayat" in Minangkabau.

Sm Sv I 423 624 791 177 622

10. *The supervisor of lands.*—The title "groondvoogd," or supervisor of lands, is given a double meaning in the literature. It is used in the first place to indicate the community soothsayer, who is especially versed in the techniques of making the supernaturals act in accord with human desires in the use of land. In the other sense, it is used to apply to the particular official who, in addition to the general chiefs and authorities, is the specialist in wielding the powers of disposal vested in the community. In correct technical usage, according to adat law, the word should have only the second meaning.

The separation of general authority and control of the operation of the right of disposal is apt to take place when an outside power penetrates the community or is foisted upon it. In such a situation it is possible to conceive of the three functions—soothsayer, land supervisor, and general headman—as existing side by side. But almost always the functions of soothsayer and supervisor are merged. The same is true of the functions of supervisor and chief, if no alien authority enters the picture. In his relation to native law the land supervisor is the actual symbol of the unbreakable link between the group and its soil. Even though the general political authority may be entrusted to a superior alien power, or captured by it, that bond of folk and soil persists. And it is just because the land supervisor is, so to speak, the personification of the spiritual relation of the people to their land that he is also usually the cere-

when the testator has no children; his "barang asal" then goes back to his own extended family—lest it "get away"—while the household goods are taken by the surviving spouse. It has already been said that in some law-areas a strong family bond can also influence the inheritance of goods, which were acquired by the household (p. 190). Among the Toba-Bataks, lands which have been given as dowry to the daughter remain at the death of the woman with the husband and his family, it is true, but in such a way that for generations, the in-laws (boru) may not use it without consulting the wife's family (hula hula) and giving them a right of preference.

2. *Property of special value.*—The sacred objects in a family can be tied up with the status of the possessor; for example, the "kraton" goods of the "kasepuhan" in Cheribon go to whoever inherits the dignity of Sultan Sepuh. In the same way, a name can only be bequeathed to a qualified heir. It can also be said that the heir of that family property becomes the legal administrator.

3. *Household goods.*—Differences in inheritance as a result of household ties may arise when a second marriage occurs. The children of the first marriage inherit the goods acquired during that marriage; the children of the second marriage receive none of them (Borneo). In Muna in South Celebes it is said in this connection, that the property of the one house may not be taken over by the other; in other places in this law-area, there is an adat law maxim to the same effect. In Java, the practice of settlement is ordinarily used to overcome the difficulties of multiple marriage in similar cases. For instance, in case the children by a first marriage are already married and thus form no part of the household of the second marriage, at the death of their father, they do not inherit the goods acquired during the second marriage, at least not if they have already had their share of the household goods of the first marriage. However, they hold a claim to the "asal" goods of their father. If two wives of the same husband form separate households with their children, then the goods of the two households remain separate (p. 177). The more involved the relationships are in a particular case, the more the most acceptable solution has to be found for an arrangement; such solutions, however, are satisfactory only if based on accepted tradition rules.

4. *Communal property.*—The community's right of disposal sometimes prevents succession to agricultural lands by its internal action because at the death of a first class villager his landholdings

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1
Bali OF7

(at least his regular holdings attached to the nuclear village) revert to the community by reason of the right of disposal, and are granted to a village member of lower rank, who is next in turn. If such land is in general given to an heir of the deceased, then there is an inheritance claim to succession to first class villager property. This rule runs counter to the operation of the right of disposal within the community whereby individual rights to fields are allowed only to a specified extent. That is to say (in some Javanese and some Balinese desas), the unit of private lands of the testator may not be added to a unit of ground-holding which is already in the possession of the heir, or on the other hand, it is equally impossible to split the plot of the testator in smaller units among the heirs. Prohibition of accumulation and of splitting up of the standard unit permitted by force of the right of disposal is thus the norm within which the internal operation of right of disposal finds expression. Numerous vague relationships can be created in this way as a result of the apparent support, for one reason or another, of the rule mentioned, while privately permitting all sorts of evasions of it. For example, the heir, who already has a first-class villager's field allows it to be entered in the name of his wife or his oldest son, and himself receives the field of his deceased father; or two brothers permit their father's field to stand in the name of the oldest, but act during their whole lives as if each had a right to half of it; the village authorities cooperate by entering the field in the name of the oldest son "c.s." (cum suis). This Latin phrase has come into use in many desas, but in the form of "séès."

The effect of the right of disposal outside the community conflicts with the law of succession in that it often prevents the inheritance of a nuclear village field by an heir not living in the village. Here also are transitional conditions: putting up a proxy for desa services, entering the land in the name of a member of the extended family, etc. In case of dispute, the decision must bring out the true facts of such a half-way condition.

5. *Designated property.*—The effect of the actual declaration of the parts of the property in the division of the estate does not take the form of a prohibition or a command, but of a preferred choice of method of division. It is unfortunate that the mechanical procedure in case of the unwillingness of one or more heirs to accept the expressed desires of the testator prevents the government judge from carrying out the provisions in that the whole estate is then sold

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia OBI
Gorontolo 064 Batak OD5
Javanese OE5 Borneo OC1
Bali OF7

the right of redemption actually is not liable to attack because of long delay; before the judge assumes the operative effect of legal security, because of the influence of the passage of time, he may well think the matter over several times. This is also true in the case of individual claims to an undivided estate. A couple of heirs can be left to enjoy the use of essential parts of an estate for a very long time, without establishing individual rights through division of it. But is is equally possible that eventually the joint heirs tacitly accept the actual situation as a definitive one. If a difference arises, because a group of heirs is opposed to the arrangement for disposal of the estate, contending that it is still undivided, or because an undesirable marriage or other family dispute has stirred up the question, "How is it now, in fact?" then the situation has to be litigated. It is a subtle job to find out what can and what cannot be regarded as interfering with correct legal relations; to find the dividing line between acceptance of the prevailing circumstances and the legal process.[1]

Claims against village members and friends do not lapse in the native adat, if the claim is not collected within a limited time. This would be contrary to the first duty of every creditor, which is to be patient, forbearing, and yielding. The idea of mutual assistance is active here. Beyond a certain point and in relationships outside these, especially in connection with installment payments, the influence of the silence and non-activity of the creditor is, however, unquestionably present. The legal regulations pertaining to these cases must be further defined by legal decisions.

In the principalities and as a result of the influence of European government (in Batak lands, Borneo, Bali, Java) regulations are frequent which make disputes which arose on a period of legal uncertainty, such as before a war or before the conquest of a territory, not subject to litigation.

B. JUDICIAL DECISION

We distinguish three lines in the decisions of judges. Because of their concern for reasonable certainty in subjective laws, the judges are interested, though not very systematically, in the influence of the passage of time in the institution of codifying laws. First, it may be assumed that material rights to land, for instance, can become void because of neglect over a long period of time, or can

[1] A decision of the Superior Native Court of Tulungagung in 1923 gives a masterful example of this. *Adatrechtbundel*, vol. 22, p. 27.